THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

December 1979
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LIBERTARIAN

PSYCHODRAMA IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Thomas Szasz on the Carters
Plus: Bruce Bartlett on
SALT II and the MX

ROBERT HUNT

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Baby bottle disease~there's big money in it.

Declining birth rates in western countries have sent infant formula manufacturers looking for new markets. They've found them mostly in the Third World.

But no more than 10% of third-world mothers—those who can't breast-feed—have any real need for formula. So the manufacturers launched aggressive marketing and advertising campaigns to convince the other 90% that bottle-feeding is modern and scientific, breast-feeding backward and primitive.

These campaigns have been incredibly successful. In Singapore, in 1951, 71% of all babies from low-income families were breast-fed. Twenty-years later, only 5% were.

But the problem is much more serious than just promoting an expensive and unnecessary product. To use infant formula safely requires pure water, a way to sterilize bottles and nipples, and enough money to buy the necessary amount of formula. A refrigerator is also needed unless the formula is to be prepared every few hours.

Because exclusive bottle-feeding can cost over 80% of their total income, many families overdilute infant formula, which

leads to malnutrition.

They must also mix the formula with contaminated water, because that's the only water available. They can't afford fuel to boil water, so the bottle and nipple become contaminated too. Then the prepared bottle usually bakes in the sun. The result is diarrhea, which also leads to malnutrition.

Malnutrition causes irreversible brain damage in infants. If prolonged, it brings death. The problem is so widespread that doctors speak of an epidemic of "baby bottle disease."

By the time baby bottle disease is diagnosed (if it ever is), it's usually too late to do anything about it, because the mother's own milk has already dried up.

Chronic malnutrition directly due to the unsafe use of infant formula by mothers who could have breast-fed has killed thousands of third-world babies and caused severe mental retardation in countless others.

Church groups here have used stockholders' petitions and lawsuits to force some U.S. formula manufacturers to discontinue their promotion of infant formula to mothers who can't afford to use it safely.

But Nestle, the gigantic Swiss transnational which sells more than a third of all the infant formula in the world, is, by its structure, immune to such pressures. They ignore moral arguments. The only way to get at them is a boycott. A partial list of Nestlé products (and products of companies they control) is at the bottom of this page.

For more information about the boycott, or to help us organize it, or to contribute to the cost of running it, contact the Infant Formula Action Coalition at 1701 University Ave SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

But most important, when you see a Nestlé product, remember what it represents—third-world babies who died for the lack of their mothers' milk.

Crunch Nestlé quick.

Boycott anything with the name Nestlé on it, including Taster's Choice, Quik, Nescafé, Nestea, Decaf, Crunch, Souptime and Lactogen; all Libby's and Stouffer's products; as well as Crosse & Blackwell's, Keiller, Maggi, McVities, Crawford, James Keller & Son; also Deer Park Mountain Spring Water and Swiss Knight cheese.

Prepared by Public Media Center, San Francisco.

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by Thomas S. Szasz

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Subscriptions: Single copy, $1.25; 12 issues (one year), $15; two years, $25; three years, $35 (U.S. and Canada). Foreign subscribers add $25 per year for postage and handling.
Address Change: Write new address, city, state and zip code on sheet of plain paper, attach mailing label from recent issue of LR, and send to Circulation Department, Libertarian Review, P.O. Box 28877, San Diego, CA 92128. Second class postage paid at San Francisco and additional offices.

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OPENING SHOTS

BILL BIRMINGHAM

BELIEVE IT OR not, there is a law of the United States which forbids the U.S. Treasury to borrow more than $400-billion. So how is it that the national debt currently stands at some $830-billion? Why, several times a year Congress "temporarily" allows the Treasury to borrow more. This gives the solons a chance to posture as fiscally responsible; railing against deficit spending before authorizing more of it. Posturing is all it is, of course; none of them would dream of letting the "temporary" debt ceiling expire ("We'd bring the Government to a halt," one horrified Congresscritter said recently). So perhaps it's just as well that the House, which needed two votes to pass the latest "temporary" increase, voted to end the posturing and subsume the ritual ceiling-raising into the annual budget process. There's no point, after all, in forcing our rulers to march to the abyss if we can't make them jump in.

Starting next year, twelve gallant, self-sacrificing volunteers will get $25 a day to eat beans for science. It's all part of a research project planned by University of British Columbia food scientist Brent Skura, who feels that beans could help solve the world's food problems if some method of limiting bean-induced flatulence were found. Dr. Skura will observe the twelve to determine what factors control gas production, in hopes that science can someday produce a less windy vegetable. The Canadian Ministry of Agriculture is subsidizing the search for the breezeless bean with a $36,000 grant.

Yr hmbl srvnt must apologize for last month's column, in which he called the Blessed Susan Brownmiller "the walking argument for patriarchy" and an advocate of censorship. Like Geoffrey Stokes of the *Village Voice* ("The First Amendment Bullies," *Voice;* August 20, 1979), he took Brownmiller's enthusiasm for the pro-censorship rantings of Warren Burger, which she parroted in a *Newsday* article reprinted in the *Los Angeles Times,* to mean that she, too, favored government censorship of pornography. But a letter to the *Voice* by anti-porn Maenads Marilyn Hayes and Dorchen Leidholdt has set us straight: "Stokes's [and, perforce, "Opening Shot's"] characterization of Susan Brownmiller as 'an enemy of the First Amendment' is unfounded. He [and OS] chooses to ignore the fact that in her *Newsday* article she calls not for government censorship, but for the views and welfare of women to be taken into consideration when communities determine what can and can't be displayed in public." We're sure the reader will appreciate the difference.

The Post Office, the GSA, Amtrak, and now ... "The chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission said yesterday that the NRC might take control of a stricken nuclear power plant in the event of another accident like Three Mile Island." (*Washington Post,* October 4, 1979.) Call it The Washington Syndrome.

And for yet further illumination on the question of censorship, heed the words of Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, who denounces Monty Python's satirical movie *Life of Brian* as "blasphemous, sacrilegious and an incitement to possible violence," and perhaps even to impossible violence. Questions of First Amendment bullying do not arise, says Hecht, because "Blasphemy and sacrilege are not protected by the First Amendment." Pity one can't hold a pogrom for just one person.

As the anointing of Teddy Kennedy proceeds, Montana gun collectors, too, are paying tribute to the nation's most rabid advocate of gun control. In recognition of the Senator's "resolute stand against the Constitution of the United States," says the newspaper *Gun Week,* the Weapons Collectors Society of Montana awarded him "an elk horn bolo tie, handcrafted by James Crosan of Post Falls, Idaho, depicting the posterior of a horse." Unfortunately that's probably the only Kennedy ass Carter has any chance of whipping.

The U.S. Army would seem to be a prime candidate for gun controls: it has contrived to lose thousands of .50-caliber machine guns. Senator Charles Percy of Illinois asked the Government Accounting Office a few months ago if it would investigate the Army's plan to buy 1530 M-2 machine guns at a cost of $10.2-million. And lo! the GAO discovered, lying unused on the Army's own shelves (and those of the Navy, Air Force and some foreign countries), nearly 10,000 such weapons "that could be modified for Army use at a fraction of the cost of new weapons." An Army official told the GAO that "the Army has recently initiated [unspecified] procedural changes which should preclude similar unnecessary buys in the future."

In the wake of Andy Young's resignation, *Newsweek* hinted darkly that

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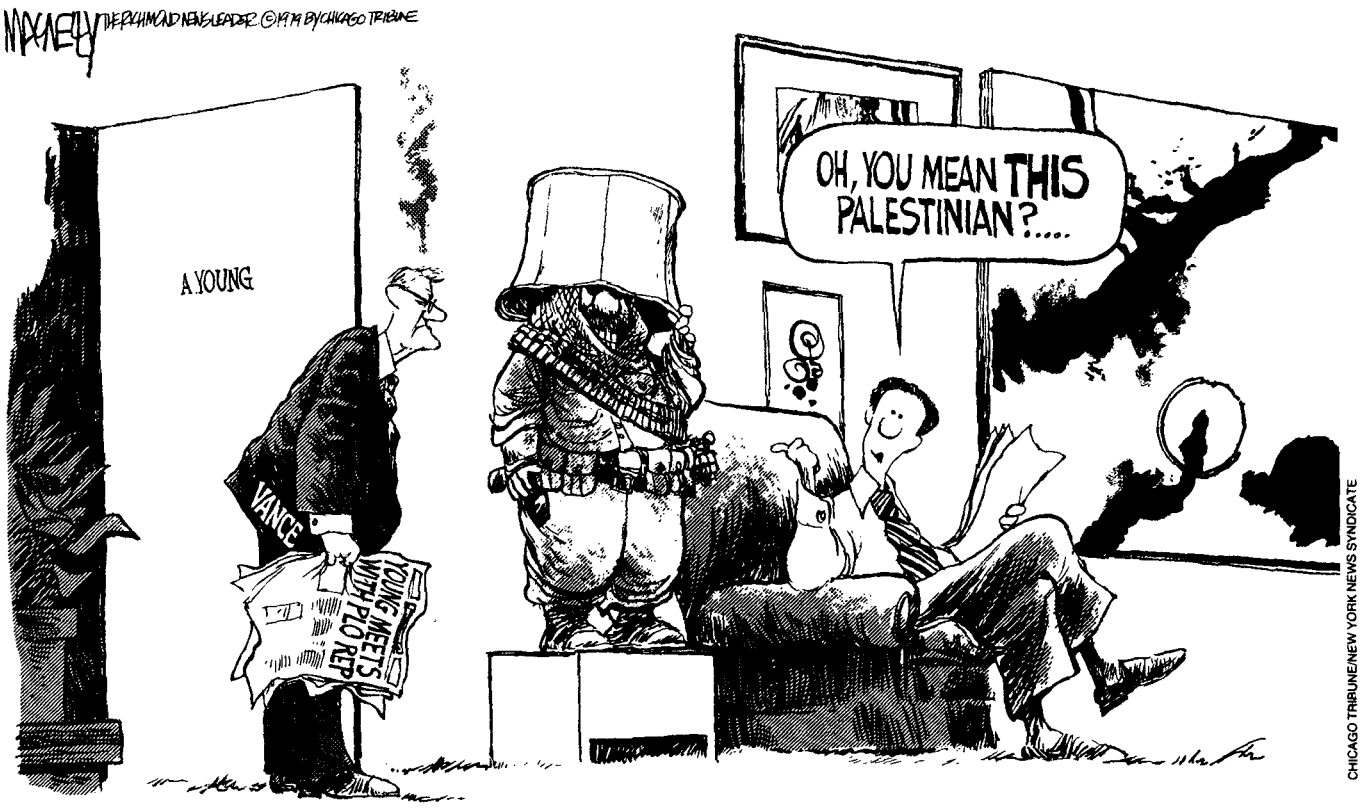
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A YOUNG
VANCE
YOUNG MEETS WITH PLO REP
OH, YOU MEAN THIS PALESTINIAN?....
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the sainted Mr. Young was a victim of the Mossad, the Israeli secret service, which may have spied on his meeting with PLO representative Zehdi Terzi. Indeed, *Newsweek* claimed that the Mossad can count on "the help of American Jews in and out of government ... 'Mossad can go to any distinguished American Jew and ask for his help,' says a former CIA agent." In an excellent article on these matters in the *New Republic* ("Andy Young's Undoing," September 15, 1979), *Jerusalem Post* correspondent Wolf Blitzer heatedly denied the charge: "Are Harold Brown, Henry Kissinger, Robert Strauss, and dozens of other former and present senior US officials who happen to be Jewish really potential Israeli spies? Ridiculous." But he did not stop there: "Several strategically placed Jews with access to information that could be very useful to the Israelis insist that they never have been approached by Israeli intelligence." No doubt. Which suggests that the FBI has been squandering our money following Russians, East Europeans, and the like around to see if they're spies — even when they "insist" that they aren't. Perhaps we can hire Mr. Blitzer to take over the job.

What price "privatization"? *Time* magazine reports that Wichita, Kansas, has formed a citizens crime commission to help the police shoulder the burden of law enforcement. "It is headed by former G-man Maurice ('Corky') Cochoran, 60, who likes making 'a stakeout' and boasts of nipping a bingo operation and an abortion ring."

After President Mobutu of Zaire visited Washington, claims the *Wall Street Journal*, national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski sent Jimmy Carter a note: "You should know that rhinoceros horns such as the one Mobutu gave you are second only to unicorn horns as an aphrodisiac. (Can I borrow it sometime?)" (The Presidential response supposedly was: "If you certify your need and identify your partner.") This should be kept in mind when pondering the First Lady's assertion that "Hamilton Jordan is as different from his image as anybody I know ... a very clean-cut, very decent young man." (*The New York Times*, September 22, 1979.)

On September 25, the House passed a resolution accusing the Soviet Union of systematically failing to deliver American mail to Jews, dissidents, and other unpopular minorities. This is a terrible example of Soviet oppression. In the good old USA, the U.S. Postal Service systematically fails to deliver mail to everyone, regardless of race, creed or political opinion.

Our Doublespeak Award goes this month to Mr. Eugene S. Sunshine of the New York State Energy Office, for his description of the 78 degree cooling limit for commercial buildings: "In large measure, this is a voluntary program, even though it's mandatory." (Quoted in *Forbes*, September 3, 1979.)

Great Moments in Political Philosophy, Zen Populist Division: On September 19, new-fangled politician Jerry Brown treated the annual convention of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department to some old-fashioned demagoguery in opposing a tax cut. "I'll tell you what's going to happen to that tax cut," Brown told the enthusiastic delegates "People are going to go out and buy Perrier water, Swedish crackers [Swedish *crackers?*], Mercedes Benzes and Italian shoes." Better that, we suppose, than California fruitcakes.

"Speculation over whether Linda Rondstadt wants to be California Governor Jerry Brown's first lady can stop," declares *Utah Liberty*, newsletter of the Utah Libertarian Party. "Knowing his monastic background, she probably already was." ❑

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THE LIBERTARIAN EDITORIALS

In praise of the Nestle boycott

ANYONE WHO'S ever spent much time in the supermarket knows about the Nestle company. It's a giant, Swiss-based, multi-national conglomerate which manufactures various chocolate products and either manufactures or distributes Libby's canned goods, Stouffer's frozen foods, Taster's Choice coffee, and a number of other foodstuffs, including baby formula. It is this last product which has recently got Nestle in trouble with its customers all over the world and has led to the formation of something called the Nestle Boycott.

According to the Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT), the organizer of the boycott, Nestle already sells a third of all the baby formula in the world. But the declining birth rate in the industrialized Western nations has forced the company in recent years to look elsewhere for enough new business to make up for its declining old business. The search for new markets has taken Nestle, predictably enough, to the Third World, where it has launched expensive, aggressive advertising campaigns which the boycott organizers say are designed to convince Third World mothers that bottle feeding is advanced and scientific, while breast feeding is primitive and backward. The campaigns have even been extended, say Nestle's critics, to the length of hiring women to dress up as nurses and call on new mothers to offer them free formula samples.

The problem with all this is that since the water supply in their countries is usually polluted, Third World mothers mix their Nestle baby formula with contaminated water. (They frequently can't afford the fuel required to boil, and thereby sterilize, the water.) Also, since they ordinarily can't afford to buy it in sufficient quantity to replace their own milk, they dilute the formula beyond the manufacturer's instructions, and then, also contrary to instructions, fail to refrigerate it. (In some cases, of course, they are illiterate and unable to read the instructions, even if they had the will and the wherewithal to follow them. And almost none of them own refrigerators.) The result is thousands of sick, malnourished babies who would be at least reasonably healthy if their mothers had nursed them. By the time their mothers reach this conclusion for themselves, if they do, their own milk has dried up and they are left with no alternatives. According to the organizers of the Nestle Boycott, this state of affairs has become so commonplace in the Third World that doctors there have begun speaking of an "epidemic" of "baby bottle disease."

It is worth noting at this point that these accusations against Nestle do not add up to a substantial charge of violating anyone's rights. No Third World mother is forced to substitute Nestle formula for her own milk, or to mix that formula with contaminated water, or to stretch that formula so that it lasts three or four times as long as it was meant to last and leaves her baby malnourished. It seems obvious to many people, this writer included, that Nestle *is* guilty, on the other hand, of callous and insensitive behavior—some might say, of a breach of that fundamental rule of human morality which stipulates that one do unto others as one would have others do unto oneself. Some libertarians might not agree — though all would presumably agree that such a breach, however morally contemptible it might be, should not be legally actionable.

It is therefore significant from a libertarian point of view that the organizers of the Nestle Boycott are not seeking government action of any kind against Nestle. Rather, they are taking the form of voluntary action which is best suited to such cases: they are refusing, individually and collectively, to buy the products of a corporation whose policies they find morally offensive. Contrast this with the stance of the Nestle company in its official replies to the boycotters' charges. "The real problem," Nestle declares in a white paper called "The Infant Formula Controversy: A Nestle View,"

> involves total infant nutrition throughout the Third World. It is a much more complex and important issue than the single aspect that deals with product promotion. ...
>
> Nestle believes solutions to this larger issue, and whatever role infant formula may play in it, lie in approaching the problem on the basis of shared responsibility.
>
> Industry as a whole, governments—with an emphasis on the governments of developing nations—the medical profession, international agencies and others with a stake in the issue must work together to find a solution.

The organizers of the Nestle Boycott are calling for voluntary collective action against an organization they regard as a wrongdoer; the Nestle company is calling for the seizure of funds (through taxation) principally from the already poverty stricken citizens of Third World nations, to fi-

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nance the creation of a legitimate market for its products. It would seem obvious which side of the dispute should appeal more to an advocate of liberty.

At the same time, as has been mentioned, some libertarians may disagree with the proposition that Nestle's policy is immoral or inhumane and may choose *not* to boycott the firm's products. And, in fairness, it should be acknowledged that not every detail of the case against Nestle has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. An example or two will suffice to indicate the nature of the still-arguable points: the boycott sponsors argue that "in Singapore, in 1951, 71 percent of all babies from low-income families were breastfed. Twenty years later, only 5 percent were." Nestle makes no effort to deny this figure, but points out that the infant mortality rate in Singapore "stands at just over 12 per thousand, one of the lowest rates in the world, and below that of the United States." The boycott organizers retort that the major problem from baby bottle disease is not death, but malnutrition and resulting mental retardation, along with a higher rate of disease. Nestle replies that sound studies proving that bottlefed babies are less healthy than breastfed babies are nearly impossible to find. The boycott organizers retort that "dozens of studies, old ones from the first half of this century, and very recent ones, some from Western industrialized countries and others from the Third World ... show a much higher disease incidence in bottlefed than in breastfed infants. No scientist or immunologist can deny the fact that human colostrum and breast milk contain substances which confer immunity on the infant and protect him from infections, and that infant formulas do not contain these substances." And so it goes.

More important than these details, however, is the central fact of the boycotters' argument, which Nestle makes no effort to deny —that *some* number of innocent children *is* being subjected to needless disease and death because their parents are being persuaded to feed them a commercial product which they have neither the knowledge nor the money nor the kitchen equipment to use properly. Those who disapprove of such persuasion are boycotting the persuaders—and, as of our most recent information, have convinced the persuaders to modify certain of their Third World advertising and marketing practices. Multinational giants, it seems, are as much at the mercy of their customers as are mom and pop stores—and this is a lesson which needs to receive wide circulation in these days of running to government for redress of any and all ills. Libertarians who desire not only a free society, but also a decent and humane one, should support the spirit of the Nestle Boycott. —JR

Baby bottle disease~there's big money in it.
Declining birth rates in western countries have sent infant formula manufacturers looking for new markets. They've found them mostly in the Third World.
But no more than 10% of third-world mothers—those who can't breast-feed—have any real need for formula. So the manufacturers launched aggressive marketing and advertising campaigns to convince the other 90% that bottle-feeding is modern and scientific, breast-feeding backward and primitive.
These campaigns have been incredibly successful. In Singapore, in 1951, 71% of all babies from low-income families were breast-fed. Twenty-years later, only 5% were.
But the problem is much more serious than just promoting an expensive and unnecessary product. To use infant formula safely requires pure water, a way to sterilize bottles and nipples, and enough money to buy the necessary amount of formula. A refrigerator is also needed unless the formula is to be prepared every few hours.
Because exclusive bottle-feeding can cost over 80% of their total income, many families overdilute infant formula, which leads to malnutrition.
They must also mix the formula with contaminated water, because that's the only water available. They can't afford fuel to boil water, so the bottle and nipple become contaminated too. Then the prepared bottle usually bakes in the sun. The result is diarrhea, which also leads to malnutrition.
Malnutrition causes irreversible brain damage in infants. If prolonged, it brings death. The problem is so widespread that doctors speak of an epidemic of "baby bottle disease."
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Prepared by Public Media Center, San Francisco.

The Nestle boycott: the unsettled issues

IT ISN'T THAT SIMPLE. The only praise which can be sung for the Nestle boycott in any unambiguous way is over the (temporary?) fact that it is a *boycott* which is being called for, and not government action. Yet.

But those who have called the boycott are unfortunately doing much the same thing as consumerists in every area: they are focusing on *one aspect* of the trade in a product or practice, to the exclusion of all else; and they are making moral judgments based on an evaluation of that single aspect. But, it might be responded, when that one aspect involves the health—even the very life—of a helpless infant, what other considerations need come into play? The answer is: plenty.

If the conflict were only between the relative safety of breastfeeding infants versus the use of supplements or substitutes, then it might be easily addressed. But there are other questions, not all of them, incidentally, pointing in a direction favorable to Nestle.

The plain fact is that it is not only the water which is in sad shape in Third World countries, but nearly everything else as well. Poverty is everywhere, and with it a low standard of living on all levels. *That* is why it is often difficult for mothers to nurse their babies without any further considerations. Many mothers in Third World countries are *themselves* malnourished, and breast feeding is often sadly inadequate in such cases. Moreover, many mothers desperately need to *work* to help support the family. Breast-feeding can so seriously tie up a mother's time as to make this difficult, if not impossible, in some cases. And since there is more to health than nutrition, who is to say that it is better to sacrifice the increased standard of living—including the ability to afford medical supplies—which results from a working mother's added income?

Of course, some of the boycott advocates have a solution to this: it is to have the government support mothers of newborn children for the first three months after the infant's birth. Yet this sorely misjudges the economic conditions in Third World countries, as well as the hardships imposed on others from the marginal taxation needed to finance such humanitarian goals. And so it stands: the choice is *not* merely be-

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tween breast-feeding and some other, commercial, method of feeding babies. The choice is between different ways of solving complicated problems which people in the Third World face.

Moreover, the boycotters aren't even facing up to the problems they themselves raise: the nourishment of newborn babies. Many experts who have studied Third World conditions and the needs of infants there agree that breast-feeding should only be the *sole* source of nutrition during the first three months of life. After that, supplements at the very least are needed, or the infant's health and growth will be adversely affected. So *what*, then, are the mothers to turn to for a supplement? The only alternatives here are native weaning foods and commercial foods such as Nestle's. Unfortunately, the result is that in many cases in the Third World, native weaning foods are even *more* dangerous than commercial foods such as those prepared by Nestle's. For mothers to rely on such alternatives, then, may be even more risky for the child than reliance on the admittedly inadequate Nestle products. And unless we consider this unfortunate choice open to Third World mothers, we have no business offering advice, let alone challenging a company which does give them an alternative as a "murderer," as some of the boycott people have called Nestle.

One of the complaints against Nestle's products and its promotion is that the products are being used by mothers who have not the means or inclination to use the formula properly. True enough. But this has led INFACT to demand that "artificial formulas ... be *prevented* from getting into the hands of people who do not have the means or facility to use [them] safely." Now, just how is that to be done—*without* also keeping it out of the hands of those who *can* use it safely, to enhance their children's lives and well-being? Indeed, even after Nestle caved in to a host of irrational recommendations for a meeting on infant and young child feeding organized by the World Health Organization and UNICEF, INFACT proclaimed that the Nestle boycott "must continue until the companies make direct and enforceable commitments to halting all formula promotion."

To take that path may well keep some of the formula out of the hands of those who, through lack of tools (such as the ability to sterilize water) or through ignorance, cannot use it properly. But, again, it will *also* succeed in keeping it out of the hands of those who *can* use it safely and properly. The boycotters neglect the crucially important truth that whatever its intended use, advertising has the inevitable effect of *spreading knowledge*. They instead adhere to the fallacy of advertising determinism, which holds that advertising somehow circumvents people's critical faculties, forcing them to slavishly use whatever is advertised. Nothing could be more elitist in attitude, or more condescending toward Third World people.

Far worse are the craven actions of Nestle, which, instead of taking the claims of the boycotters seriously, and moving to address them in a way which maximizes the positive, constructive use of its products in the Third World, has instead caved into a crazed list of "recommendations" made by the WHO/UNICEF meeting last month.

First on this list of "recommendations" is this: "The government of each country has the responsibility to promote coherent foods and nutrition policies which should give special attention to mothers, infants and children.... Governments have a duty to ensure the supply and availability of adequate infant food products to those who need them, in ways that will not discourage breastfeeding." Moreover,

> there should be no sales promotion, including promotional advertising to the public of products to be used as breastmilk substitutes or bottle-fed supplements and feeding bottles .... There should be an international code of marketing for infant formula and other products used as breastmilk substitutes. This should be supported by both exporting and importing countries and observed by all manufacturers .... There should be no marketing or availability of infant formula or weaning foods in a country unless marketing practice is in accord with the national code or legislation.... Facilities of the health care system should never be used for the promotion of artificial feeding.

This and much more has been endorsed by Nestle.

All of these demands rest upon the baseless assumption that *conditions* everywhere are the same, that government has either the competence or the right to regulate anything so vital and personal as nutrition, that advertising of substitutes for or supplements to breast-feeding can *only* have harmful consequences, and that there can never be a sound reason to promote artificial feeding through a health-care system. None of these assumptions is true and every one of them, if codified, will result in harm.

Nestle is neither blameless for its often thoughtless promotion of products to people who are not able to use them properly, nor blameless for the harmful consequences which are likely to follow on the heels of these policies.

One thing is certain: there are no simple answers here, even if the boycotters are right in stressing the harm which Nestle's products can do when they are not used properly. One solution, to which neither side has looked — because it is a *long-run* solution — is to smash government control of the economy and of people's lives in Third World countries. Government opposition to birth control and abortion — policies which are leading to skyrocketing birth rates — and to a free market economy have done much to brutalize *all* the people of those areas of the world, both children *and* adults.

In the meantime, Nestle should do everything it can to see that its products end up in hands capable of using them properly, and the boycotters, while remaining watchdogs, should point their fingers not merely at Nestle, but also at the Third World governments whose policies routinely grind people into the dirt, obliterating both life and hope.

—RAC

Women against pornography?

OVER THE LAST YEAR and a half, feminists have been on the march again violent pornography—the sort that features bondage, subjection, torture, and sometimes even the mutilation of women. Organizations like Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) and Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media (WAVPM) have mounted mass demonstrations in cities like Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, and San Francisco. The latest was a march and demonstration against the Times Square porno district in New York City on October 20, sponsored by Women Against Pornography (WAP), a group that has been conducting sightseeing tours of the outlets for pornography in the

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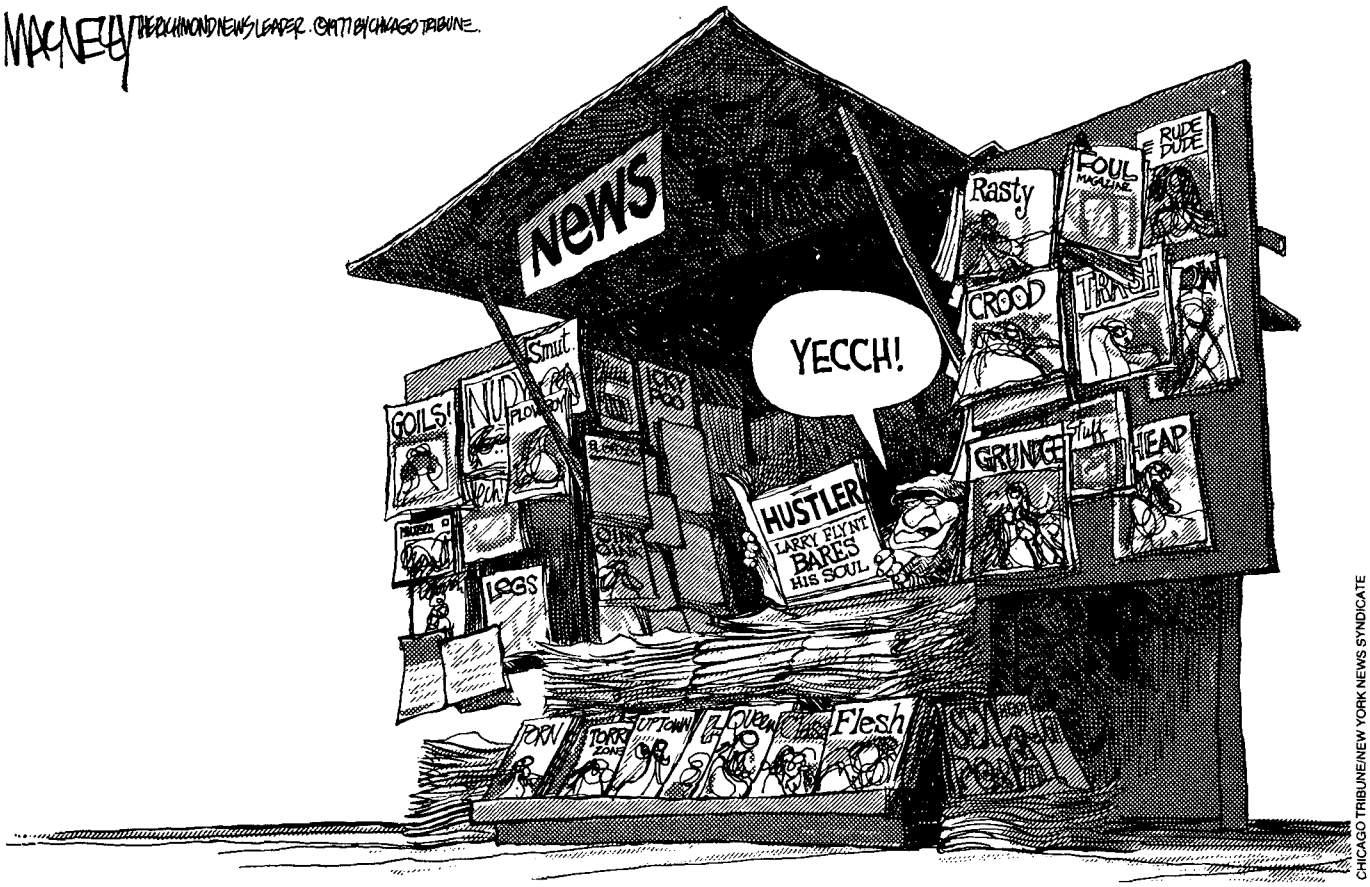

area from its Time Square office. According to the *New York Times*, more than 5,000 demonstrators marched, chanting, among other slogans, "Clean it up, shut it down, make New York a safer town."

Feminists are distressed that such marches are often seen as attempts to bend the First Amendment by calling for censorship, and they protest that they want instead to publicize the false nature of the message that all women want to be battered, which violent pornography implies. So far, so good.

But several questions come to mind about the recent WAP demonstration. Why did Women Against Pornography, which is affiliated with the West-Coast based Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media, adopt the shorter name? Some think that it is because they are against more than violence, but represent instead the cutting edge of a new puritanism that is against any explicit depiction of male-female sexual relations because they see *all* heterosexual relations as inherently violent—because of what they see as the patriarchal structure of contemporary society.

WAP is certainly not making itself clear if it is calling for a private economic boycott and not government action. One suspects that its members think that only *some* government action is censorship. Why else has Susan Brownmiller, the feminist most publicly identified with WAP, been widely quoted as saying that pornography is not protected by the First Amendment? And why did Bella Abzug reiterate this message at the demonstration itself? And what did Lynn Campbell, co-organizer of the march, mean to indicate when she stated that "our group is demanding awareness, not censorship. If legislation grows out of our actions, we'll comment on the specific legislation at that time"?

Are they fronting for city government attempts to clean up Times Square? Is that why they combine an economic protest with statements that pornography is not protected by the First Amendment, which carries the clear implication that government action against it would be all right? It seems as if WAP wants to have it both ways: although the demonstrators were not specifically advocating any legislation or other government action, some critical feminists were circulating information that the organizers were promoting the plans of a group that wants to have the entire Times Square area condemned as an urban renewal project. Now *that's* not a private boycott.

WAP gets its office rent-free from the quasi-governmental Forty-Second Street Redevelopment Corporation. It has been publicly supported by the Mid-Town Enforcement Agency, a branch of the New York Police Department, whose director issued a statement saying that "our means and ends may not be exactly the same, but the issue of pornography is obviously a matter of concern to both the city and feminists." And among WAP's financial supporters is OTB, the New York City agency that has a city-wide monopoly on Off Track Betting. (Apparently the city government wants only *official* vice to flourish in Times Square.)

Other feminist organizations against violence that are directed against women have made it clear that they are calling for private action. WAP is not making it clear—perhaps because it is not consciousness-raising about violence, but is promoting the urban-renewal destruction of the Times Square porno district. While the First Amendment protects demonstrations against ideas as strongly as it protects the printing presses of the offending ideologues, it does forbid government action to "Clean it up; shut it down"—even *city* government action. —JKT

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Revolution in El Salvador

JIMMY CARTER'S HUman rights policy is a farce. Look at his treatment of the tiny Central American nation of El Salvador. Until early October, the nation was ruled by a right-wing military dictatorship propped up and supported by the United States. The Carter administration did threaten El Salvador with a cut-off of military aid three years ago, and then followed through on the threat—because the dictatorship was making up for its size by building a reputation as one of the world's worst human rights violators. So the U.S. officially cut off all military aid, but the economic aid continued to flow. In fact the U.S. Agency for International Development chipped in with an $8-million "basic human need" loan, and the U.S.-supported Inter-American Development Bank donated another $30-million. General Carlos Romero's Congress then merely transferred some 21-million of those dollars out of housing, education and health into the military. In the beginning of 1979, while the U.S. still publicly supported the regime of General Romero, the government passed on another $10-million in economic aid.

One wonders how much of this ultimately was used to torture, imprison, threaten, and kill. The Roman Catholic church in San Salvador estimates that 406 citizens were assassinated for political reasons by the government in the first six months of this year. And hundreds of others have simply "disappeared after arrest," a technique becoming alarmingly widespread in Central and South American countries. So repressive had become the rule of Romero's fraudulently-elected regime that one could be tossed into jail just for wearing the campaign button of an opposition party. And the government openly encouraged the activities of a terrorist group called "ORDEN" (Order) which was fond of shooting fathers in the company of their children, and priests before their congregations. The tactics of government and its supporters were clear —scare and intimidate the populace into quiet, faithful obedience of government and military authorities.

For those who despaired of living in El Salvador because of the economic or political conditions, the countries to the north naturally beckoned. And what of the reception by the U.S. to persons fleeing for their lives from Romero's practices? That reception was modelled from the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, setting U.S. policy for refugees. It only grants refugee status and political exile to those escaping from communist countries and the Middle East. It makes no provision for persons fleeing right-wing military dictatorships. Thus, a ballet dancer leaving the Soviet Union for "artistic purposes" is welcomed with open arms, immediately; but a priest running for his life from El Salvador cannot stay in the U.S. unless he can present evidence proving his need for political asylum. And for such persons illegally entering the U.S. and caught by immigration officials, there is little opportunity to make a strong showing in their 15-minute hearing. The truth is that only one person from El Salvador has been able to obtain such political asylum between 1971 and 1979, out of the almost 2,000 persons given this favored status during that period. And the treatment of refugees from other American nations isn't any better. In 1973 when the democratically elected government of Chile was ousted by a military junta supported by the U.S., more than 30,000 Chileans needed to leave their homeland quickly or risk death. But only 76 of these persons were allowed to enter here. Contrast this sum with the general parole given 150,000 Indochinese and hundreds of thousands of Cubans fleeing Castro's communism.

Before the fall of Romero's government, El Salvadorians fleeing their nation and captured by immigration officials in California were being deported daily on a Pan Am flight between Los Angeles and San Salvador, even though it was well known that many who debarked from that aircraft were arrested and killed by Romero. The U.S. government must stop paying lip service to human rights. It must end Ugly American interventionism which props up oppressive regimes like Romero's and it must stop discriminating among aliens seeking refuge here. —LJN

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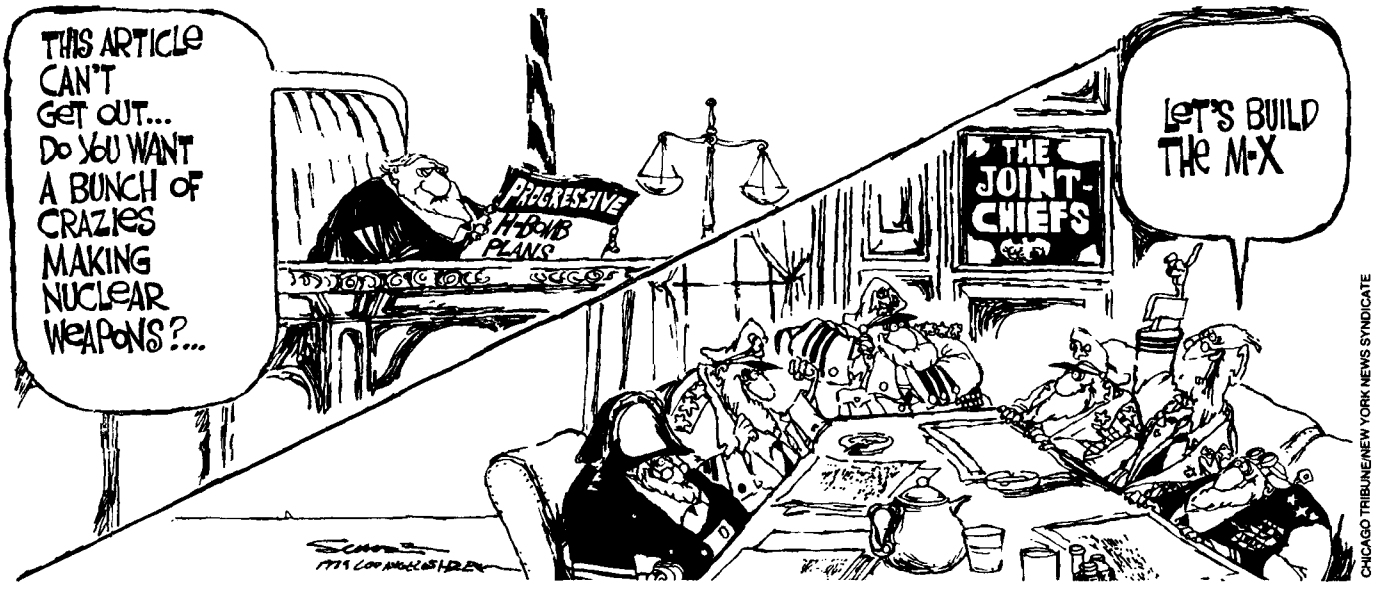
THIS ARTICLE CAN'T GET OUT... DO YOU WANT A BUNCH OF CRAZIES MAKING NUCLEAR WEAPONS?...
PROGRESSIVE H-BOMB PLANS
THE JOINT-CHIEFS
LET'S BUILD THE M-X
CHICAGO TRIBUNE/NEW YORK NEWS SYNDICATE

Who needs the MX?

IT IS SOMEWHAT IRONIC that in his efforts to win Senate approval of the SALT II treaty President Carter is being forced into launching the largest strategic arms expansion since the "missile-gap" period of the late 1950s. The purpose is to buy conservative votes for ratification while helping to protect his administration against charges of appeasement, such as those recently made by Senator Henry Jackson of Washington.

Carter's first move was to ask for a real five percent increase in the defense budget for fiscal 1980. This means five percent on top of inflation, or closer to 15 percent in real terms. Next was a boost in civil defense spending, surely one of the most useless expenditures in the entire budget. Now Carter has announced his support for the MX missile program, a pet Defense Department scheme for ages.

The MX is a huge missile, weighing 95 tons (as opposed to 39 tons for a Minuteman III), with 10 thermonuclear warheads (the Minuteman has 3), requiring the building of deep twenty-mile-long trenches along which the missile can be moved on rails to protect it from attack. The cost of deploying the MX missile is estimated by the administration to be $30-billion, although Senator William Proxmire says that the true cost may be as much as $70-billion.

There seems to be little question that Carter's only purpose in moving ahead with the MX program is to fend off conservative political attacks. In fact, shortly after the MX program was announced one of President Carter's assistants, Joel McCleary, deputy assistant for political liaison at the White House, told a student audience that "we are wasting billions of dollars to placate" conservatives in Congress. Nevertheless, he went on to say, this still represents billions of dollars of savings "because if they had their way what we would spend is mind boggling."

Needless to say, the conservatives have not been appeased. Rather than being satisfied with concessions, the conservatives have redoubled their attacks on Carter and the SALT treaty, somewhat like animals which have tasted blood. They feel that Carter's support for the MX only proves how scared he is of the militarist Right.

Interestingly, Carter's rejection of alternatives to the MX has brought criticism from both Left and Right. Senator Mark Hatfield, an MX foe, has charged that President Carter grossly overestimated the cost of converting the existing Minuteman missile system to a mobile mode. According to a Library of Congress study released by Hatfield, the Minuteman could be made mobile for several billion dollars less than it would cost to build the MX. Conservatives, on the other hand, are concerned about Carter's rejection of the Air Force proposal for the MX, which would utilize covert shuttling of 200 MX missiles among 4,000 underground silos in lieu of the trench system approved by Carter. The Air Force proposal would have cost at least $7-billion less than the approved plan. This fact led conservative columnists Evans and Novak to speculate that Carter was possibly setting up the MX for later abandonment on budget grounds once the SALT treaty was approved, just as the B-1 was terminated.

The fundamental question remains, however, as to whether any kind of massive upgrading of our strategic weapons system is needed or justified. Some conservatives, like Dr. Robert Pranger of the American Enterprise Institute, have come out against building the MX. Pranger recently testified before Congress that it would be better to counter the Soviets by projecting self confidence and taking the conceptual jolt which would be required to establish key changes in tactical and strategic thinking, as opposed to increases and decreases in spending. If we can communicate the impression that "we are creative and we are imaginative in our leadership, that might be more impressive than simply increasing the defense budget," Pranger said.

A more radical response still would be to force a total reappraisal of war as an institution. As foreign policy expert Robert Johansen recently wrote in *Harper's*,

> To oppose the political Right is easier than to oppose the war system, but it is also less promising. To think seriously about abolishing war as an accepted institution means a fundamental questioning of the present international system, where we all enjoy privileges because of the present global distribution of power and wealth. Yet without commitment to demilitarization of the world security system, one or two weapons systems will come and go, as SALT fails or succeeds. But the return to new arms buildups, like the craving for a fix by an unreformed addict, will always return until steps are taken to kick the military habit completely—a message that should be carried to our Senators rather than the appeal to vote "yes" on SALT II. —BRB

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Abortion and choice

IN RESPONSE TO LESLEE J. Newman's excellent article in the September *LR*, here is additional news on the anti-abortion movement.

I learned recently in Dallas that certain individuals view my uterus as public property. These men and women hope to vote for a constitutional amendment that would determine whether I can own my own uterus or whether it would be owned by them and all U.S. citizens.

Under the leadership of Francis A. Schaeffer, philosopher, and C. Everett Koop, M.D., the so-called "pro-life" movement held a conference at Moody Coliseum at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. Approximately 1,500 people gathered together to reinforce the movement to fight our right to control our reproductive functions.

They claim that, in spite of 6,000,000 abortions since 1973, child abuse has not changed. Since pro-lifers don't have abortions and consequently must (as a group) have more children than any other segment of society, are they the child abusers?

I cannot help but question the movement calling itself pro-life. For several years they have used poor women as political pawns to fight the 1973 Supreme Court de-

BRIAN SMITH

cision. A poor woman cannot use her medicaid card to help cover the cost of an abortion. As a result of this injustice, a Texas woman named Rosie Jimenez, a medicaid recipient, died from an illegal abortion. I fail to understand why these individuals call themselves pro-life. Anti-life seems more appropriate.

The leaders of the Schaeffer conference did not stop to talk about how we will feed everyone on the planet if we don't curtail our reproduction. Nor did I hear them say anything about paying the medical expenses of lonely, unwed mothers or of poor pregnant women who *want* to have children. Nor did they take up a collection to feed the children who are loved and wanted, but starving.

The anti-lifers are upset that the same society that struggles to save the whales permits the termination of pregnancy. But I'm upset that the leaders of this conference blatantly discuss my uterus and reproductive organs as if they own them. I'm upset that they maintain that their hot-line to God is more authoritative than my hot-line to God. I am upset that they are telling me to control my sexuality rather than learn about contraception. I'm upset that Dr. Mildred Jefferson smiled when she said that a woman who has an abortion will never quite become a mature woman and consequently will always be a little less than human. I'm upset that the audience applauded when she said it.

I am upset to learn that under their proposed constitutional amendment my uterus could not have a D&C if I should ever be a rape victim. They maintain that the worst results from rape are VD and physical abuse. They would allow me to have DES (the controversial morning-after pill). Instead of a safe abortion, with a current complication rate of 0.031 percent for terminations at between 6 and 8 weeks pregnancy, the Schaffer folks would give me DES so that I might never have a period again.

Mr. Schaeffer and Dr. Koop apparently want *less* human freedom than is available to them. That's their business. Thank goodness we still live in a society where church and state are separate and people can fight for their basic human rights. Just as I will never be in the position of telling them how to run their lives, I hope they will never be able to tell me how to live mine.

LINDA L. SPRAGUE
Dallas, TX

I HAVE BEEN A HARD-core libertarian and a libertarian activist for about the past ten years and agree with most of the opinions expressed in your publication. However, I am distressed by your September, '79 article on the abortion issue. I think that it is unfair to infer that all people who have moral reservations about abortion are either bigoted religious fanatics or ultra right-wing reactionaries intent upon imposing their beliefs on others. I am particularly disturbed by libertarians and other feminists who ridicule the idea of being pro-life.

It may seem strange, but my pro-life sentiments motivated me to become a political activist for peace and justice-related causes in the first place; to work for peace, by opposing all forms of killing as well as dehumanization which leads to killing. My pro-life sentiments lead me to oppose war, militarism, capital punishment, nuclear power with its inherent dangers, and political oppression. They lead me to oppose any form of dehumanization including sexism, which is why I support most feminist causes in the first place.

I realize that many prominent anti-abortionists seem like such foolish hypocrites when they claim to respect life while taking anti-life stands on just about every other peace and justice-related issue besides abortion; I have already written hard-hitting letters to some of these people suggesting to them that if they are so pro-life they ought to become more concerned about human rights *after* people have been born, too. However, the inconsistently pro-life stands taken by some anti-abortion fanatics on

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other issues does not obscure the fact that human life should be respected and should not be tampered with for the sake of expediency. When pro-abortionists argue that women can murder their unborn babies for the sake of expediency their reasoning is similar to that of the corporate state interests which support potentially dangerous nuclear energy and which support interventionistic foreign policy involving crushing Third World liberation struggles and propping up oppressive, murderous dictatorships in order to curry such regimes' political-economic-military favor. All of these treacherous schemes involve sacrificing human life for the sake of convenience and expediency.

When the pro-abortionists try to rationalize that a human fetus is not really human, their reasoning is similar to that of the Nazis who decided that Jews were not really human and could thus be exterminated for the sake of expediency; such reasoning is similar to that of some early Americans who decided that Blacks or Native American Indians were not really human either and could thus be made into slaves or massacred for the sake of expediency—what if the abolitionists had decided that people had a "right to choose" whether or not to own slaves since many slaveowners felt in good conscience that their slaves were not really human? A dangerous precedent is set whenever an attempt is made to rationalize that a person who is "different" is not really a human being, whether the criterion for judging a person as subhuman and not entitled to human rights is a difference in race or a difference in biological development.

Perhaps abortion is a symptom of the agism prevalent in our society and culture. If children and teenagers are not considered fully entitled to their basic human rights then perhaps it is only natural that at a certain early stage in biological development human beings can be considered not entitled to any human rights at all. It would seem only natural that in 1973 the Supreme Court would make such an unfortunate decision regarding the "right" to abortion, as this is the same Nixon-appointed Supreme Court which has tried so hard in so many other ways to deprive people of their basic human rights. Obviously, such an oppressive Supreme Court would not hesitate to cater to the agism present in our society, as this same Supreme Court which showed such utter disregard for the rights of people after they had been born could hardly be expected to respect the rights of the unborn.

Some pro-abortionists defend abortion on the grounds of "the right to reproductive freedom." However, this is the same reasoning rapists use to defend their behavior. One's legal right to sexual freedom ends when it involves committing aggression or brutalization against another person. Just as rape is an act of aggression and brutality against a woman, so abortion is an act of aggression and brutality against a baby. Many humanistic people oppose abortion precisely on these grounds; because they feel that it is not simply a private matter of "doing your own thing" or "controlling your own body" but rather an act of brutality and aggression against an innocent person.

ROBERT MADDOX FERRERA
Villanova, PA

I READ AND ENJOYED Leslee J. Newman's very fine article on abortion in the September issue. Fetal fanaticism has always struck me as a bizarre, perverse, and pernicious superstition. A fetus is a non-viable nonperson, so that if a woman does not wish to carry it to term no one has the right to compel her to, least of all those to whom the continuing multiplication of a clump of cells is more important and overrides the rights of pregnant women and children. Indeed, one can argue that if "pro-life" is to be synonymous with "the compulsive increase in human biomass," then it provides no reason for living whatsoever. Life is not an end in itself no matter what, as proponents of capital punishment would concur. The point is that for many women, to be compelled to bear a child is a reason for *not* living, a cause for despair, and thus *anti*-life, in a perfectly proper sensible use of the term. So to be pro-life is to be in favor of the right to choose not to harbor and incubate an undesirable or undesired fetus within her body so long as she does not prevent other females from choosing to harbor, mandate and carry to term fetuses within their bodies. To bear or not to bear is a question that every female has the right to answer by herself and *only* by herself if she so chooses.

SIMON WEINBERGER
Maspeth, NY

AS A MEMBER OF THE newly formed Libertarian Council on Religious Affairs, I think it is important to stress a distinction that was overlooked by your author Leslee J. Newman in her article, "Abortion: The Battle Over Freedom of Choice" (Sept. 1979).

In one of the last paragraphs in her article, Newman maintained that anti-abortion groups were seeking "to impose their religious views on others by law, in defiance of the separation of Church and State."

Almost all libertarians (including me) believe that abortion should be legal. I must also stress that the Libertarian Council on Religious Affairs is not anti-abortion.

But all libertarians—believers in God or not—support freedom of religion and should welcome religious people into the libertarian fold. It is vital, therefore, in talking about the activities of religious groups to distinguish between the governmental establishment of religion and religious influence on society and politics.

Establishment of religion fundamentally means setting up an official church and has properly been extended to include direct subsidies to churches and all religious activities under official auspices.

But if a group called Clergy and Laity Concerned successfully lobbies against the war in Vietnam, such lobbying is not a violation of separation of Church and State. Instead it is a positive, pro-libertarian religious influence. If a group called the Women's Christian Temperance Union successfully lobbies for alcohol prohibition, neither is that the establishment of religion. Instead it is a negative, anti-libertarian religious influence. In both cases, of course, there were religious people on both sides of the issues. I don't think it clarifies things to speak of the political activism of religious people as a violation of the separation of Church and State. The wiser course, it seems to me, is to search for and ally with religious people who have libertarian values on these issues.

WILLIAMSON M. EVERS
Palo Alto, CA

Newman replies

IT'S TOO BAD THAT MR. Ferrera inferred from my article that all people who have "moral reservations about abortion are either bi-

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goted, religious fanatics, or ultra right-wing reactionaries." I was only trying to show that most anti-abortion activity is emanating from such persons. Certainly, there are libertarians who are opposed to abortion. But many are silent because they feel that it is more important that all women be given the right to choose whether or not they want an abortion. These libertarians do not wish to oppress others with their own moral or religious beliefs.

But where I really must argue with Mr. Ferrera is over his belief that abortion is not justified for "expediency." Why shouldn't a woman have the right to decide whether or not she wants to interrupt her schooling or career to have an unwanted child, or whether that child would cause her unbearable financial hardships? That decision, unlike the expedience of corporate state interests supporting potentially dangerous power sources, whatever they may be, only affects her or her family. Unlike the decision of the corporate state, thousands or millions are not aggressed upon involuntarily by such a decision. Furthermore, more pregnancies than one might believe are not the fault of carelessness or irresponsibility. The ACLU has recently reported that one couple in three who practices birth control rigorously still has an unwanted pregnancy every five years.

Finally, I must refute Mr. Ferrera's contention that the pro-abortionists are disrespectful of human life in the same manner as the Nazis or early Americans. The Nazis were anti-abortion, yet they were not "pro-life" in their feeling towards certain minority groups. Today in many countries where abortion is outlawed or severely restricted by the state, thousands of persons might be randomly imprisoned, tortured, or shot, as in many of the nations in Central and South America. Thus, it would appear that there is no correlation between the outlawing of abortion and a general respect for the human rights of a populace.

The important point of distinction is between the murder of an actual human being and the killing of a potential human being. And that distinction is a difficult one to define. The Supreme Court in its 1973 decision came close to drawing it at viability or the last trimester of pregnancy, where the high court decided to permit abortion only under emergency circumstances, and this in practice is what has occurred. In fact, only 0.01 percent of all abortions are performed at this time when the fetus is coming close to actual human being status. Most abortions are performed during the first trimester, before quickening of the fetus, long before that fetus is capable of life without the mother's support system. And clearly abortion at this stage is not murder, but the termination of potential life.

Abortion is not a pretty thing, and in my opinion, should be used only as a last alternative. But the factors of each case must be weighed independently. Every woman must have a right to choose and measure the "brutality and aggression" imposed by her pregnancy against the "brutality and aggression" she imposes against her unborn fetus.

I would agree with Mr. Evers that religious people with libertarian values should be welcomed into the fold, and it was not my intention to alienate any such persons. Clearly, there are persons of every religious persuasion on both sides of the abortion issue. In fact, as I stated in my article, "a recent Gallup poll found only 25 percent of the Catholics polled supporting their church's total ban on abortion."

As for the so-called separation of Church and State, ther are those who would heartily argue that the lobby by the Women's Christian Temperance Union for prohibition of alcohol was clearly the establishment of religion. Political activism of religious people *is not* a violation of the separation of Church and State. But activism leading to the enforcement of certain religious beliefs against the will of others *is* a violation. State enforcement of the Catholic belief that conception originates at the moment of conception would violate a Methodist woman's belief that her religious duty is to consider abortion in the case of an unwanted pregnancy.

The proposed "human life" amendment would establish the religious beliefs of some as official doctrine to be legally enforced. This threat must not be brushed off as lightly as Mr. Evers implies.

Libertarians in government

Ron Paul

MILTON MUELLER, IN his September "Movement" column, looks for the "better political entrepreneur," and then denigrates the only one in Congress, Ron Paul.

Despite what Mr. Mueller says, it is possible to be both an effective legislator and a builder of public support for liberty.

For the former, Ron Paul stopped the Treasury from enlarging its inflationary draw authority and has made real progress in taking away its power to seize private gold. And he was instrumental in stopping the reinstitution of draft registration.

For the latter, he has introduced bills to repeal the Federal income tax and the Selective Service Act, as well as to reduce Congressmen's salaries by the increases in the cost of living and to end junketing. All have been important in rousing public anger at government abuses.

To say that Dr. Paul's activist position against the draft got him "into a jam" with constituents, whereupon he backtracked, is scandalously wrong.

Ron Paul has devoted more time and effort to the anti-draft movement — in speeches, committee testimony, floor debates, outside debates, insertions in the *Congressional Record*, press conferences, and lobbying of other members — than any other Representative. And he has been effective precisely because he is pro-American and in favor of national defense, and not one of those opposed to the draft because it might be used against Marxists. Many of these sunshine anti-patriots would be only too happy to have Americans drafted to invade South Africa or Chile.

Congressman Paul did decline an invitation to speak at an SLS anti-draft rally; he was scheduled to be in Houston on that day. But he participated in an SLS teach-in on the subject with *LR* editor Roy Childs, among others.

Is it really selling-out to work and vote for laws that "make us just a little bit freer"? By Mr. Mueller's rules, we couldn't advocate tax credits, for example, since they are less than pure freedom.

As to Ron Paul's being a less than consistent advocate of liberty, "especially in foreign affairs," does this

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mean his refusal to endorse entangling foreign treaties like SALT II, or to hail the Ayatollah as a big improvement on the Shah? Congressman Paul supports a non-interventionist foreign policy, and is the only Republican Representative who says we should bring our troops home.

To some libertarians, it is not enough to be non-interventionist; you must excuse the Soviets. It is not enough to advocate the repeal of victimless-crime laws; you must endorse the behavior they outlaw.

Ron Paul is the only Member of Congress who takes a completely free-market position, domestically and internationally. If his moral beliefs bother the Radical Caucus, that is to his credit.

But Mr. Mueller should get his facts straight.

LLEWELLYN H.
ROCKWELL, JR.
Administrative Assistant
to Ron Paul
Washington, D.C.

Mueller replies:

I AM VERY SURPRISED at the huffy tone of this letter. To say that I "denigrated" someone my column referred to as a "man of principle" is a real poke in the eye.

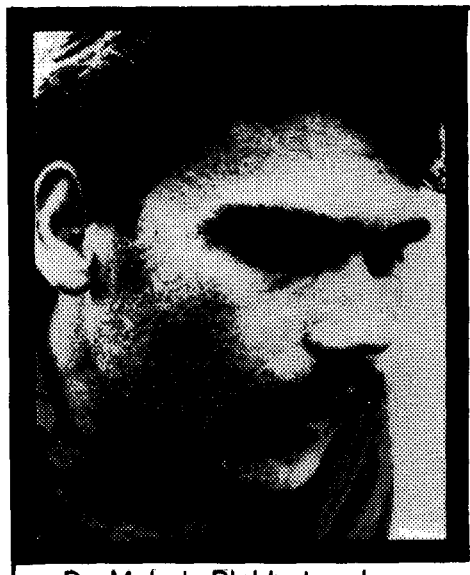
When I cited the pressures brought to bear on a Congressional draft opponent whose constituents support the draft, my whole point was that even the best, most principled elected officials have to make decisions, to quote the column, "about *which* areas they can dismantle and which areas they do not want to risk their necks attacking." That I used Representative Paul to illustrate these pressures is, in its own way, a compliment. My point would have been very weak and insignificant had I simply shown how political pressures affect your typical, amoral politician; the very fact that Representative Paul *is* a staunch and principled opponent of the draft formed the basis for the argument. The argument was that "representative democracy limits the parameters within which libertarians can maneuver" — not such a controversial or insulting statement, is it? As it happens, I was wrong in this case about the *extent* to which Representative Paul's actions were limited by his constituents' support for the draft. More about that later.

I will, however, stand by my statement that Representative Paul is not consistently libertarian on foreign policy issues. He is to be commended for his stand on troop withdrawals. But his signature on a full-page ad calling for U.S. intervention in Nicaragua is, frankly, disgraceful. (There are other areas of disagreement: he has submitted items in the *Congressional Record* about nuclear power which say nothing about the free market, but simply promote nuclear power *per se*.) But Mr. Rockwell should know that *disagreement* is not *denigration*. Perhaps, as the next to the last sentence of his letter indicates, Mr. Rockwell has confused my column with the attack from the Radical Caucus; should I forward the letter to them? (I have never been a member of the Radical Caucus; it isn't radical enough for me.)

Incidentally, although the "Movement" column in question appeared in the September issue of *The Libertarian Review,* it was written much earlier — in late May and early June. Since then, Representative Paul has done absolutely fantastic work against the draft in the House. To say that he has stuck his neck out is almost an understatement: he has submitted a bill to repeal the Selective Service Act which, if passed, would totally end conscription in the U.S. for the first time in forty years. Even before we knew about the bill, SLS was planning to campaign for SS abolition; I hope Representative Paul will work closely with us in building public support for his heroic bill. Our disagreements over selected issues should in no way stop us from working together as respected allies.

I am still bothered by the somewhat querulous tone of this letter, so I offer this concluding comment. If Ron Paul really wants to be considered a libertarian, or part of the broader libertarian movement, then he must be prepared to accept criticism and discussion from the movement. If Murray Rothbard, Charles Koch, Robert Poole, Ed Crane and Roger MacBride can take it (and believe me, all of these hard-working movement figures have come in for some pretty harsh treatment) then so can Ron Paul.

LR *welcomes letters from readers. Letters intended for publication should be typed, double-spaced, and addressed to: Letters to the Editors, The Libertarian Review, 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111.*



Dr. Mykola Plakhotnyuk
is suffering involuntary

PSYCHIATRIC CONFINEMENT

in the Soviet Union. His "crime": Distributing a human rights journal.
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THE PUBLIC TROUGH

Five percent for what?

BRUCE BARTLETT

SINCE AUGUST, when Henry Kissinger testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that his "price" for supporting the SALT II treaty is a real five percent increase in the defense budget (adjusted for inflation) between now and 1985, the debate over SALT has increasingly become simply a question of budget numbers. Hardline senators, led by Senators Sam Nunn of Georgia and Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, have, in effect, endorsed the Kissinger view and made the five percent defense increase figure the focal point of debate over strategic arms limitation. The five percent figure, moreover, has been endorsed by the full Senate in the second concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1980.

The SALT II treaty offers a unique opportunity for opening debate on critical questions of national defense. It is unfortunate that it has been turned into a mere debate about budget numbers. Critical questions about the direction and quality of American defense policy have been totally glossed over in the debate over numbers. The fact is that a real five percent increase in defense spending no more guarantees our nation an adequate defense than France's expenditures for the Maginot Line during the 1930s ensured it an adequate defense from the Germans. Given the direction of American defense policy, furthermore, ratification of the five percent view may unfortunately delay debate over the truly critical issues facing the U.S. today. Both the Congress and the American people, in other words, may be led to believe that simply giving more money to the Defense Department will solve all our problems, when, in fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Our defense problems are much more fundamental than that and require far deeper analysis and more basic solutions.

The basic debate over U.S. defense capabilities generally relates to the "fact" that the Soviet Union is, and has been for several years, outspending the U.S. on defense. There are two basic problems with basing our defense policy on this view. First is that the figures are virtually meaningless. Second is that even if the figures are accepted at face value they do not necessarily show that the U.S. is being outspent.

In a recent article, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Maxwell D. Taylor made a crucial point regarding the comparison of Soviet and American forces on a numerical basis:

"A mere count of strategic weapons is wholly inadequate to measure the relative effectiveness of opposing forces. The only military capability possessed by such weapons is the ability to destroy hostile targets on order, and hence, the only meaningful measure of the value is their target destruction potential. The latter derives not only from numbers of weapons but also from such things as the accuracy, reliability and throwweight of weapons, their survivability under attack and the number and nature of the targets they must destroy.... Only if we insist on basing our weapons requirements on the need to perform tasks of unchallenged importance to our security—in most cases the destruction of certain designated targets—can we know with reasonable certainty what and how many weapons we really need either for deterrence or for retaliation." ("SALT II: The Numbers Fallacy," *The Washington Post,* August 17, 1979).

The five percenters, however, have not designated specific weapons systems for increased spending. In fact, they have generally not made any effort whatsoever to explain exactly what the additional money will be used for. Presumably, it will just be handed over to the Pentagon to decide how it should be spent. This lack of focus and specificity regarding the link between SALT and the defense budget has even led strongly pro-defense spokesmen to question the usefulness of the present debate. As *Fortune Magazine* recently put it:

"Thus far, at least, the 'great debate' that was expected to emerge from the SALT II deliberations hasn't really taken place. In its stead, we have recently been listening to a somewhat sterile discussion about which percentage changes in the defense budget are appropriate to our present situation. To some extent, the doves participating in that discussion are justified in their complaints about the lack of specificity that has accompanied the rhetoric about percentages. ... Some such debate might well lead us to conclude that a hefty percentage increase in the U.S. defense budget is called for. But a debate that starts out with arbitrary-seeming percentages isn't very helpful." ("Defense and the 5-Percenters," *Fortune,* October 8, 1979).

Even if it were clear that comparing the relative percentages of Soviet defense expenditures to our own were a valid means of comparing our relative defense postures, there are still serious questions that need to be addressed.

One of the first problems is that the data for Soviet

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defense expenditures is virtually meaningless. The fact is that we calculate the cost of Soviet forces by our pay scales. Thus when the U.S. increases the pay for its soldiers Soviet defense spending automatically goes up. We also calculate the cost of military equipment by comparing how much it would cost us to build the same equipment the Soviet Union has. This method ignores differences in the cost of labor, raw materials and other factors of production between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As one researcher has put it, "You can bet that it doesn't cost the Soviets $1 million to build a tank like it does here." Another consequence of this method for comparing U.S. and Soviet defense capabilities is that the higher inflation is in the U.S. the more Soviet defense spending goes up in dollar terms. And lastly, those who compare U.S. and Soviet defense expenditures ignore the fact that much of the Soviet military capability is directed toward the Chinese, not the U.S. or Western Europe.

The five percenters also use a convenient double-standard when it comes to comparing defense expenditures. U.S. expenditures are compared to the Soviets and NATO expenditures are compared to the Soviets, but since the U.S. and NATO are essentially linked together, just as the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries are, it is really more legitimate to compare total U.S. and NATO expenditures to total Soviet and Warsaw Pact expenditures. Unfortunately for the five percenters, when you do this it turns out that the U.S. and NATO are significantly outspending the Soviets and the Warsaw Pact, since the Warsaw Pact contributes very little to Soviet defenses while NATO contributes significantly to ours. In 1979 combined NATO-U.S. military spending amounts

to about $218-billion compared to Soviet-Warsaw Pact spending of an estimated $188-billion. (See the *Congressional Record*, September 18, 1979 12848.)

During debate on the budget resolution Senator Edmund Muskie, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, attempted to confront the five percenters with these facts. He also made the point that "the enemy in fiscal year 1979 and in fiscal year 1980, the enemy who has the capacity to devastate this economy—the defense budget, the Government's overall budget—is not the Soviet Union or any other enemy I can foresee. It is the enemy called inflation." An increase in the defense budget amounting to tens of billions of dollars, Muskie said, cannot be considered outside the context of overall economic policy and the war against inflation, or it may prove to be self-defeating. In this respect, Muskie was echoing George Kennan, who wrote in *The Cloud of Danger:*

"If the protagonists of heavy military spending really wished to find the shortest path to the correction of what they see as a growing disbalance to our disfavor in the relative strength of Soviet and American forces, they would do well to give more attention to our own inflation, and especially to the effects of that inflation on the military budget, and less to the effort to convince the rest of us of the menacing intentions and fearful strength of our Soviet opponents."

Needless to say, most defense hardliners do not perceive a link between inflation and our growing strategic "inferiority," or the necessity for making trade-offs between defense spending and social spending, which has skyrocketed in recent years. They want an increase in defense spending on top of all the other spending. Where will the money come from? Part of it will be borrowed from the public, thus forcing up interest rates, part will come from increased taxation, resulting from inflation which pushes people up into higher tax brackets, and part will come from the printing press, which is the fundamental source of inflation. Only a very few of the hardliners seem to understand that if our economy falls to pieces from inflation, excessive taxation and big government then our defense capability will fall apart too.

As I have often pointed out in previous articles, dollars alone do not buy national defense. It is perfectly possible to spend much less on defense than we do today and have a better quality defense at the same time. What it requires, however, is a fundamental restructuring of our defense establishment

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and a reconsideration of some of the premises which underly our defense posture. James Fallows, former chief speech-writer for President Carter, recently made this point brilliantly in an article for the October issue of *Atlantic Monthly*.

In his article Fallows attempts to make clear that unless Congress pays more attention to how our defense dollars should be spent then we may get nothing more than larger versions of our strengths and weaknesses. He pinpoints three fallacious notions which underly our defense posture which must be changed before any increase in spending can hope to do any good.

First is the notion that the defense department can be run on the same management principles applicable to business or that superior management techniques will win wars. Robert McNamara is responsible for introducing this view to the Defense Department and the failure to successfully prosecute the Vietnam War is just one result. The effect of his management-oriented view was to create a preoccupation with computer printouts while forgetting the realities of the battlefield. Traditional approaches to strategy and tactics have been thrown out in favor of superior logistics alone. The enemy isn't to be outmaneuvered or outfought, merely crushed by our production lines. As Fallows says, Clausewitz wouldn't last two weeks at West Point today; military theoreticians are anachronistic; managers make up the new army.

Along these same lines is Fallows' second point, that we have made ourselves overly dependent on high technology weapons without realizing that these weapons may be overwhelmed by actual battlefield conditions. High technology weapons like the Trident submarine, nuclear aircraft carriers, and the XM-1 tank may surely be superior to any comparable weapons on a one-to-one basis, but they also cost vastly more and may not necessarily function very well in a war situation. Fallows notes that a recent Air Force test matched a relatively cheap and simple plane against a fancier and more complex model which cost more than five times as much. In one-on-one fights the more expensive plane clearly dominated, but when the situation was changed to four-on-four—a more likely situation to develop in actual battle — confusion played a much larger role and exotic weaponry a much smaller one. Most of the "kills" came from visual sighting, as they had in the dogfights of World War I (and Vietnam), rather than from elegant, computerized "fire-control" systems. The point is that higher performance capabilities which look great on paper may be severely blunted by the disorderly circumstances of war, and the high cost of such weapons denies us the opportunity to have greater numbers of simpler, less costly weapons which could also do the job.

In addition, Fallows argues that some of the assumptions made about a Soviet-U.S. nuclear confrontation may not be valid. One assumption is our missiles can actually be fired and hit their target. Fallows points out that the vulnerability of our Minuteman missiles is based on an assumed theoretical accuracy of Soviet missiles (just as our ability to retaliate is based on an assumed theoretical accuracy and reliability for our missiles). Unfortunately, we don't really know if a Soviet missile could possibly come close enough to one of ours to knock it out or if one of our missiles could destroy one of theirs, or even get out of the silo during a war emergency (a virtual direct hit is necessary for one missile to knock out another inside a hardened silo). The technical problems are enormous and would be greatly increased during an actual shootout. Just look at how difficult it is for NASA to fire its rockets without problems during perfect conditions. One possibility is that since many missiles must be fired toward the same general area during an attack that when one explodes it will destroy or deflect other missiles coming in behind it.

Lastly, Fallows makes six points about how our defense capability could be easily increased without the expenditure of any additional money:

1. Forget about the MX missile and stop worrying about the vulnerability of the Minuteman. Our submarine-launched missiles are the critical deterrent force and land-based missiles of any kind only make the continental U.S. an unnecessary target. (This argument has also been made by Earl Ravenal in the September, 1977 *Atlantic*, a revised version of which has been included in a pamphlet published by the CATO Institute — "Strategic Disengagement and World Peace").

2. Forget about the Trident submarine (cost: $1.6-billion each) and build smaller subs. The Trident holds 24 missiles, but for deterrent effect it would be better to divide these missiles among several submarines, so that one hit will not knock out all of them with a single shot. This will reduce the cost greatly while improving our deterrent capability.

3. Make our allies pay more of the cost of defense. While the U.S. spends six percent of its GNP on defense France spends 3.6 percent, Germany and Belgium 3.4 percent, and Japan only one percent.

4. Cut back on conventional forces while developing smaller, more flexible strike forces more suitable for the kinds of actions which are likely to be necessary (such as a threat in the Middle East).

5. Cut back on weapons which don't measurably add to our defense capability. Worry less about building more high cost, high technology weapons systems and make better use of existing systems.

6. Train leaders and soldiers for combat, not management. The Army is no longer made up of or led by men who can fight. Its incentives, performances and internal values are like those of the Civil Service. Within such a system it is not reasonable to sacrifice or to risk death in pursuit of promotion.

I think Fallows is right. These would be major reforms of our existing defense policy. Each one can be debated on its merits, revised or dismissed. The important thing is that they focus directly upon our defense capability, rather than mere numbers.

The defense budget really cannot be discussed rationally outside the context of overall military strategy, economic conditions, and foreign policy. Those who wish to justify an increase in the defense budget just by comparing U.S. expenditures to Soviet expenditures, or by comparing the defense budget to GNP or total government expenditures, ought to recognize how weak and meaningless such arguments are. There are extremely important questions that need to be asked about the quality and direction of our existing expenditures before any consideration can be given to a significant increase. The hardliners would do well to make sure they can justify all existing defense expenditures as genuinely necessary before they press forward with demands for more spending.❑

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THE FASTEST GROWING CHURCH IN THE WORLD

by Brother Keith E. L'Hommedieu, D.D.

It's quite safe to say that of all the organized religious sects on the current scene, one church in particular stands above all in its unique approach to religion. The Universal Life Church is the only organized church in the world with no traditional religious doctrine. In the words of Kirby J. Hensley, founder, "The ULC only believes in what is right, and that all people have the right to determine what beliefs are right for them, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others."

Reverend Hensley is the leader of the worldwide Universal Life Church with a membership now exceeding 7 million ordained ministers of all religious beliefs. Reverend Hensley started the church in his garage by ordaining ministers by mail. During the 1960's, he traveled all across the country appearing at college rallies held in his honor where he would perform mass ordinations of thousands of people at a time. These new ministers were then exempt from being inducted into the armed forces during the undeclared Vietnam war.

In 1966 Reverend Hensley was fighting the establishment on another front. The IRS tried to claim the ULC wasn't a legal church and proceeded to impound the ten thousand dollars in the church bank account. The feisty Hensley filed suit against the IRS in federal district court for return of the funds and to permanently establish the ULC as a legal tax exempt entity. On March 1, 1974 Judge James F. Battin ruled against the IRS in his decision which stated, "Neither this court or any branch of this government will consider the merits or fallacies of a religion. Nor will the court praise or condemn a religion. Were the court to do so, it would impinge upon the guarantees of the First Amendment." The judge then ordered the IRS to return the impounded money and to grant the Universal Life Church its tax exempt status.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he believes a church is people and not just a fancy building. He also believes in total freedom and equality for all people. The ULC will ordain anyone without regard to religious beliefs, race, nationality, sex or age.

The ULC's success formula is both effective and unquestionably legal. After a person has become an ordained minister, he or she can join with two other people and form their own Universal Life Church. These three people then make up the Board of Directors consisting of a Pastor, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The ULC will then grant the group the use of its legal church charter complete with both federal and state tax exempt numbers. The newly formed church may then open a bank account in the church's name. Any member of the church can legally donate up to 50% of his or her outside income to the church and take a corresponding tax deduction. The church in turn can pay the complete housing cost of its minister including rent or mortgage payment, insurance, taxes, furnishings and repairs. The church can also provide the minister with full use of an automobile as well as pay for travel and educational expenses. None of these expenses are reported as income to the IRS. Recently a whole town in Hardenburg, New York became Universal Life ministers and turned their homes into religious retreats and monasteries thereby relieving themselves of property taxes, at least until the state tries to figure out what to do.

Brother L'Hommedieu is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Sacerdotal Order of the Universal Life and serves on the Board of Directors of the International Universal Life Church, Inc.

Churches enjoy certain other tax benefits over the common man on the street. For instance, a church can legally buy and sell real estate or stocks and bonds completely tax free. It can receive tax free income from bank deposits or mortgages. Many churches own large publishing, recording, or other related businesses like hospitals, clinics and schools without paying any income tax.

A church can sponsor any kind of fund raising event such as a concert, play or even bingo. Churches are also exempt from paying inheritance taxes. When the pastor of the church dies, the Board of Directors simply appoints a new pastor and the church goes on.

Reverend Hensley has stated that he personally doesn't believe in the tax exempt status of churches. However, if the government is going to give a free ride to Billy Graham and the Pope, then why not let everybody participate in these blessings. Furthermore, he backs his words up by offering to defend in court the tax exempt status of his congregations.

Since the church was founded in 1962, it has attracted members who are movie and TV personalities, businessmen, government officials, lawyers, and doctors as well as all types of regular working people. During the last 15 years the Universal Life church has blossomed into a full blown grass roots populace movement. Reverend Hensley is ordaining ten thousand new ministers a week and predicts that the church will have over 20,000,000 members by the early 1980's. In addition, requests for interviews and TV appearances continue to pour in.

Anyone who is a member of the ULC will tell you that the ULC is destined to change the world. By unifying mankind into a brotherhood of freedom orientated individuals, each respecting the other's right to live life as they see fit, the Universal Life Church hopes to put an end to all wars. Reverend Hensley admits that this is a pretty monumental task to accomplish, but he also points out that he is already well on the way to reaching his goal.

Rev. Hensley invites all those interested in becoming an ordained minister and receiving complete information and Minister's Credentials, to send a $10[00] tax deductible donation to the Universal Life Church, 1335 Seabright Ave., Dept. 1167, Santa Cruz, CA 95060

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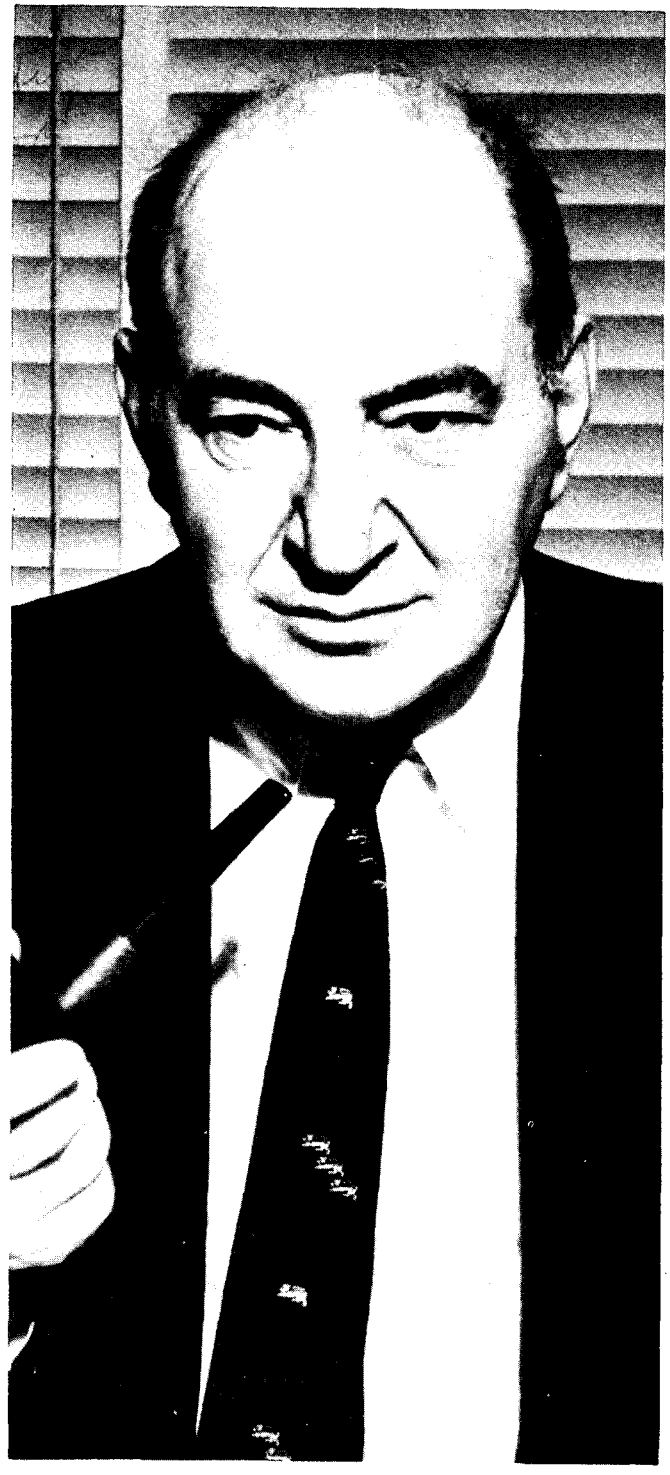
LIBERTY'S HERITAGE

Frank Chodorov and the American right

CHARLES HAMILTON



FRANK CHODOROV has a special place in liberty's heritage. Part of the Old Right, he helped to preserve that tradition of anti-statism, voluntarism, and anti-imperialism through the frightful years of World War II. On the other side of the war he was a founding father to the modern conservative movement. M. Stanton Evans once wrote that "The Chodorov imprint is visible in every phase of conservative effort." His articles, books, and organizational ability gave American conservatism direction and a libertarian sensibility it desperately needed. But while he was instrumental in the formation of this burgeoning conservative movement, Chodorov was also among its most vociferous critics when it eagerly began to embrace militant anti-communism and statism.

Ignoring or forgetting Frank Chodorov has left conservatism poorer and certainly less liberty-conscious. As Murray Rothbard has lamented about those days in the 1950's, "we should have listened more carefully to Frank Chodorov." He wrote for the Remnant, that tiny band of obscure and unorganized people who would in time build a new society from the ashes of the old, tired, totalitarian one. He offers much to those of the libertarian Remnant today.

Frank Chodorov was born on February 15, 1887 to two poor Russian immigrants. He grew up on the lower west side of New York City, went to Columbia University (unusual for a Jewish kid at that time), and then "wandered through the years."

Between the various jobs that occupied his time, Chodorov developed a sort of interest in politics: a dislike for the political and a passionate commitment to individualism and the free market. "A young man must have a cause," he wrote in his autobiography. He found his in a book called *Progress and Poverty,* by Henry George.

Henry George is usually remembered for his concern over the ownership of land and his advocacy of the single tax. But it was George's place in the broader Jeffersonian and Spencerian tradition that was most important, and Chodorov never lost his deep commitment to Georgism: "George is the apostle of individualism," he wrote. "He teaches the ethical basis of private property; he stresses the function of capital in an advancing civiliza-

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tion. . . . His is the philosophy of free enterprise, free trade, free men." By 1937, at the age of 50, Chodorov became the director of the Henry George School of Social Science and a short time later the editor of the School's magazine, *The Freeman* (not a continuation of Albert Jay Nock's *Freeman* of the early 1920s). Dedicated to the philosophy of Henry George, *The Freeman* attracted authors like John Dewey, Albert Jay Nock, George Bernard Shaw, and Francis Neilson.

One topic above all others concerned Chodorov when he began editing and writing for *The Freeman:* the coming war. Presciently, he saw war being forged by politicians and intellectuals. And he knew that when "Truth Faces War Hysteria," as he titled one of his editorials in August 1940, principle is the first thing to go by the board—and with it freedom.

Chodorov refused to get involved with the emotionalism surrounding any war issue. He was against war, all wars. Even if the battles were won, he warned, the State would never give up its war powers, and "Americans of the future will be slaves to the State." The task at hand, he warned, called for courage and resolution. As early as November 1938, in an article titled "When War Comes," he wrote,

> Those of us who try to retain some modicum of sanity will be scorned by our erstwhile friends, spit upon, persecuted, imprisoned. . . . We must steel ourselves for the inevitable. Every day we must repeat to ourselves as a liturgy, the truth that . . . no war is justified; that no war benefits the people; . . . that war destroys liberty. . . . Now, before it is too late, we must learn to think peace in the midst of war.

The war came and Chodorov dedicated himself to "educating for an enduring peace." His anti-war stance, however, angered many people (he was called an "anti-semitic Jew"), and in early 1942 he was ousted from his directorship of the School and his editorship of *The Freeman*.

This was a terrible blow to him. Unfortunately, the same fate was shared by others. The trauma of the war for the Old Right is often forgotten. Just a few years before, the Old Right had been a genuine force in intellectual circles. With the war, individualism, anti-militarism, and anti-statism became expendable attitudes. Most people got on the war band wagon. Those who didn't lost their jobs or couldn't find outlets for their writing. People like Garet Garrett, John T. Flynn, and Albert Jay Nock joined Frank Chodorov on the outs.

In November 1944 Chodorov started his own foray into personal journalism with a four-page monthly named *analysis*. It was the most gratifying venture in his life. As he said, "It's fun to fight—when what you are fighting for stirs your imagination." His little magazine became important to the development of the postwar American Right as Chodorov delivered up such little gems as "Don't Buy Bonds," "Socialism Via Taxation," "Commies Don't Count," and "A Byzantine Empire of the West."

No converts were sought. Chodorov didn't believe in them and insisted that *analysis* "would not attempt to teach individualism; it would attempt to find individualists." And while it never had more than 4,000 subscribers, it did "find" many individualists, including many who would later make their mark, such as the young William F. Buckley, Murray Rothbard, Edmund Opitz, and James J. Martin.

When Chodorov started *analysis,* he "slapped it on its hopeful rump and the birthcry was 'anti-statism'." He wrote from a basic set of principles. Individual dignity, natural rights, the free market, and the importance of society over the State informed all topics he chose to discuss. The distinction between the social and the political was particularly important. He had taken this distinction from Henry George and refined through his contact with Albert Jay Nock and through his reading of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State*. There was, on the one hand, society: the free and voluntary interactions of people in the free market. It was through these interactions that people and civilizations prospered. The political realm, on the other hand, was wholly different: "Politics is the partnership of power and privilege with the purpose of maintaining privilege." The State was the institutional embodiment of the political. It used force to accomplish its ends; and, Chodorov added, it contributes nothing to the material or spiritual basis of civilization.

Chodorov didn't reify the State as "the enemy." Statism was a state of mind, and he saw that it was "fast crowding out all other patterns." Flinging principles, facts, and scorn at politicians, socialists, and communists, Chodorov also damned conservatives and capitalists for their support of special privileges and the political means. "Capitalist practice too often squares with communist theory."

Chodorov was particularly critical of the political tool of taxation. When the income tax amendment was passed, he sadly pointed out, the American Revolution was lost. Taxation was theft, and it gave the State the wherewithal to maintain its repressive structure and control. In one of his rare forays into political action, he worked for the repeal of the income tax and, in 1954, wrote a book that summed up his attitude perfectly, *The Income Tax: The Root of All Evil.*

Politics had "destroyed every civilization man had ever built," and Chodorov constantly advocated staying away from the political game. Don't vote, for instance. (And when, as a lark in the 1950s, he ran for the New Jersey State Senate, his campaign slogan was "Don't vote for me.") He believed that even libertarians were at a disadvantage if they tried to achieve their ends politically. Quite apart from being inconsistent and seeking the power they were against, "On the political front you are fighting a rear guard action." The real struggle was elsewhere: "One should concentrate on society and leave politics severely alone; which means education and more education, and ignoring the politicians altogether."

In fact Chodorov's whole career can be seen as an important educational effort; from his early teaching and writing at the Henry George School to his writing "A Fifty-Year Project" (in the October 1950 issue of *analysis*). That article is a classic piece of libertarian strategy and led to the formation of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists which Chodorov ran for a number of years. In the article Chodorov tried to understand the "transmutation of the American character from individualist to collectivist." What he found was that socialism had advanced because it had succeeded to the schools. Organizations like the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists had spearheaded an intellectual onslaught. And there had been no real challenge from individualists or capitalists. Above all else, Chodorov saw that a long-term project was needed to win the minds of youth. "Individualism can be revivified by implanting the idea in the minds of the coming generations. . . . The assault must be made on the campus."

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This article was reprinted a number of times; one version was published in *Human Events* in September 1950. It provoked a lot of interest as well as a $1000 donation from J. Howard Pew. With the help of the Foundation for Economic Education, names were solicited, literature was sent out, and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists was formed. Within a few years over 30,000 students had received literature. The effect of these efforts was felt in the conservative movement throughout the 1950s and 1960s and can still be seen today in conservative and libertarian circles. It was the high point in Chodorov's case for the Remnant:

> [I]f there were no ISI, or something like it, the blackout of individualism would be as complete as the blackout of all culture during the Dark Ages. Future generations would indeed have to dig out of their own understanding the principle of the dignity of man, and out of bitter experience learn that the State can do no good. Those on the ISI list will probably be able to pass on to their offspring knowledge they cannot get in the classroom; that is the least gain from this effort.

Unfortunately, the conservative movement was moving further and further away from the individualistic and libertarian sensibility that Chodorov had done so much to foster. And it is symbolically interesting to note that the same year Chodorov died, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists became the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. American conservatism would never be the same.

Chodorov continued to publish *analysis*, but it was a significant financial burden. So in March 1951 he merged it with *Human Events*, a newsletter begun in 1944 by Felix Morley and Frank Hanighen. He moved to "the American Mecca"—Washington, D.C. — and wrote frequent articles until 1954. In July of that year he became the editor of a new *Freeman*, this time published by the Foundation for Economic Education. Conflict with the Foundation and a long illness that made work quite difficult for him for well over a year (he was then 68) forced him to leave *The Freeman* in 1955. During that short period, though, Chodorov tried once more to uphold the isolationist Old Right position.

The mid-1950s represented a watershed for America's political consciousness, for across the spectrum, from left to right, militant anti-communism was the new and dangerous fad. Within the fledgling conservative movement, Chodorov and a few others reminded their audiences that the issues were what they had always been: individualism, anti-statism, and tolerance. While communism — in both its international and domestic forms — did represent a threat, increasing State power, diminishing individual freedom, and suppressing unpopular views were no answer. The danger could be handled by the legitimate powers of the government to protect person and property. Interventionists, however, admitted that there would need to be a loss in freedom in this struggle against communism. They were, Chodorov said, "willing to gamble with freedom. I am not." Statism and the loss of freedom, no matter what the intended purpose, were the crucial issues: "The important thing for America now is not to let the fearmongers (or the imperialists) frighten us into a war which, no matter what the military outcome, is certain to communize our country."

Just as he had warned of the coming of World War II and of the consequent loss of freedom, Chodorov's "well-trained nostrils" detected "the aroma of a similar stew now in the making." Interventionism against communism was, after all, killing, imperialism and conquest. If people in other countries wanted communism, that was their right, and the United States couldn't be the policeman for the world anyway. Let the natives alone, he said. Communism was an idea, a cult of power-seeking. "That, then, is the idea that we who believe in the American tradition should try to kill, and let all natives alone."

The growing hysteria over domestic communism similarly alarmed Chodorov. Half seriously, he offered "How to get rid of the communists in the Government? Easy. Just abolish the jobs." What worried him most, however, was that persecution of communists would lead directly to persecution of ideas of all kinds. Chodorov's position was clear: "Let them rant their heads off — that is their right, which we cannot afford to infringe." If the State were to outlaw those ideas, then what would stop it from outlawing any ideas? As Chodorov pointed out when the Government tried to intimidate *anti*-communist organizations: "America will not be saved by getting rid of communists. The real danger is the trend toward Statism — the general attitude that condones the imprisonment of Americans for holding ideas contrary to those who wield power."

Anti-communism was a struggle between different sects of power-seekers. It *was* a witch hunt and a heresy trial, and it was best to steer clear of it all.

Sadly, Chodorov was too alone, he was too old, and his voice lacked journalistic outlets. Militant and unthinking anti-communism came to power in the conservative movement with virtually no struggle. And Chodorov steadily lost favor. His brand of uncompromising individualism, isolationism, and free market economics was often too extreme for this adolescent movement. Chodorov himself was losing patience with the inability of these new conservatives to stick to the important principles. A movement which he had done so much to nurture, protect, and teach was becoming less and less to his liking. In a moment of exasperation, he quipped, "As for me, I will punch anyone who calls me a conservative in the nose. I am a radical."

When Chodorov left *The Freeman* in 1955, he was 68, and the years were taking their toll. Still, he continued to write, lecture, and work for ISI. He received a grant from the Volker Fund to write his "autobiography," *Out of Step*. William F. Buckley was a close friend, and Chodorov wrote for *National Review* as a gadfly associate editor. From 1957 to 1961, he went each year to teach at the Freedom School in Colorado. He suffered a massive stroke while there in 1961. The next five years he spent in a nursing home. On December 28, 1966 Frank Chodorov died at the age of 79.

While so important to the growth of the postwar conservative movement, Frank Chodorov was also one of those stalwart souls who brilliantly fought for what Murray Rothbard has called "The Transformation of the American Right." His unerring championing of individualism, the free market, tolerance, anti-statism, and anti-imperialism makes him an important figure in liberty's heritage. Reacquainting ourselves with his life and work can give us hope and direction for liberty's future. ❑

Charles Hamilton, publisher of Free Life Editions, is the editor of a forthcoming collection of essays by Frank Chodorov to be published by Liberty Press.

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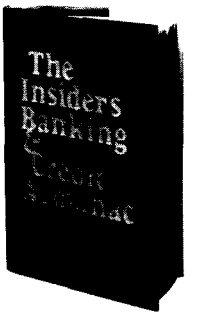

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THOMAS S. SZASZ

President Carter is greatly devoted to Mrs. Carter, who, in turn, is greatly devoted to psychiatry. Hence, it is not surprising that the Carter Presidency has come to be characterized, first, by the replacement of a President by a marital Presidential team, and second, by an imitation of the language and style of the mental health professions. Thus, the United States is now headed not by a male Chief Executive who is the leader of his party and the President of his country, but by a marital pair of faith healers who lust to replace politics with a religious psychodrama.

In a psychodrama, (so-called) mental patients are invited to enact their major life problems. The ostensible purpose of the enterprise is to help them confront and master their problems. Its only result, however, is that the performers' weaknesses are exposed. That, it seems, is what President and Mrs. Carter are doing to each other and themselves. It is to this phenomenon—which has not received the attention it deserves—to which I propose to devote my following remarks.

What does a faith healer—a term I use to mean charlatan or quack—typically do? He assumes a posture of boundless compassion and wisdom and so equipped pronounces the gravest diagnoses upon his clients. Then, he promises to cure them, provided that they place their complete trust in him. Carter's diagnosis of our condition could hardly be more gloomy; "I think it's inevitable," he told some of his guests at Camp David,

> that it's going to get worse in '80 than it was in '79, and it will get worse in '81 than in '80. The only trend is downward....I think it's inevitable that there will be a lower standard of living...I think there's going to have to be a reorientation of what people value in their own lives. I believe there has to be a more equitable sharing of what we have.

Ignoring for the moment Carter's remark about the need to "share what we have"—a precept he is obviously more fond of preaching than practicing—let me try to develop his image of our country. It is an image that fits comfortably into, and issues logically from, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter's dual infatuations with redemptive religion and rehabilitative mental health.

In this Carterian view, America is, quite simply, a sinful and sick addict: Americans are greedy for gasoline and other goodies they don't need, shouldn't have, and would be better off without. In his Baptist bull of July 15th, Carter admonished his recalcitrant addict-subjects in these words:

> I'm asking you, for your good and the nation's security, to take no unnecessary trips, to use car pools or public transportation whenever you can, to park your car one extra day per week, to obey the speed limit, and to set your thermostat to save fuel. Every act of energy conservation like this is more than just common sense. I tell you it is an act of patriotism.

President Carter here addresses us in a voice such as might have been used (but was never used) by General MacArthur

UPI

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addressing his vanquished Japanese charges. Indeed, while Carter is waging a metaphorical war of moral equivalents against OPEC, he is waging a real war of "therapeutic" emasculation against his own people: he is demeaning us for what we value, he is attacking us for how we behave, he is depriving us of our comforts and pleasures—all the while that he and his entourage are living more lavishly than the most profligate of private citizens, on money extracted by the Internal Revenue Service from us no-good-gasoline addicts. Jimmy Carter's politics is thus the epitome of what Bernard Crick called anti-politics: "Only anti-political régimes," he wrote in his *In Defense of Politics* in 1972, "are forever preparing the individual to sacrifice his freedom of action for the collectivity, or trying to persuade him that freedom is not the positive experience of diversity, but is the euphoria that comes from making the right choice in good company. Yet people who are reborn are seldom reborn free [p. 192]."

As might be expected, some of our statist political commentators loved President Carter's castigating his fellow Americans for their addiction to oil. "Some complain that he [Carter] was 'too evangelical,' " wrote Carl Rowan. A leader speaking to sinners always preaches. And we have long been the energy sinners of the world. We have virtually "stolen" the petroleum of other poor nations for years and have become the gasoline junkies of the world.

Just when did we become the "gasoline junkies of the world?" Six months ago? After the Six-Day Arab-Israeli War? When Henry Ford built the Model T? As we all know, until very recently the oil industry in concert with the American government "pushed" gas — that is, they "pushed" it just as any seller pushes his product. Too, until recently, the oil-producing countries were happy to sell us a product that cost them next to nothing and whose availability seemed unlimited. Furthermore, the American government is still "pushing" oil by preventing market forces from dictating the price of petroleum in America and instead keeping that price at levels still well less than one-half of what it is in other industrial nations.

It is worth noting, in this connection, that there is a three-year backlog of orders for Mercedes automobiles, that there is no speed limit on German superhighways, and that there is no shortage of gasoline in Germany—although the Germans must, of course, import every drop of oil they use.

Mrs. Carter shares her husband's image of Americans as greedy materialism addicts who ought to do with less and worship Jimmy. For all we know, she may even have developed this image herself and infected her husband with it. On a tour in July selling the President, she told reporters: "What I would like the people of this country to do is every time they turn out a light, every time they ride a bicycle or car pool, to think about Jimmy and that they are doing this for the country."

I submit that President and Mrs. Carter treat us, the American people, as if we were sinful addicts, given over to unpatriotic dissipations, not because that is the way we are, but because that is the way they want to see us. Theirs is the pat, time-honored priestly-psychiatric posture: I am virtuous—you are wicked; I am sane—you are insane; I know how to cure what ails you, and I'll fix you, whether you like it or not.

Politicians used to promise us two chickens in every pot. The Carters tell us we are eating too much chicken, that eating less of it is good for us—and patriotic to boot. But the facts are all the other way. There is no "shortage" of oil. That is to say, there is no more of a shortage of oil than there is of anything else in the world that people desire and the supply of which is limited. Nor are we addicted to oil—any more than are the people of all industrially advanced and politically free societies—with whom most people in the rest of the world would like to change places. Finally, we are not —and let us make no mistake about this—going to be better

PSYCHODRAMA IN THE WHITE HOUSE

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off by emasculating ourselves, economically, politically, or psychologically. The idea that it is sinful and wrong for one person to have more than another goes back to ancient history. The Greeks feared and sought to placate their jealous gods. The Christians elevated self-abnegation and poverty—at least in principle—to a virtue, giving Marx and Freud powerful ammunition in their efforts to replace Christianity with their own brands of anti-individualistic gnosticism. The Carters have managed to combine the worst—the most self-destructive and undignified—elements of these three creeds into a single vision, if one can call deliberately self-induced blindness vision.

The Carters' vision is one of unrelieved bleakness for America. "After listening to the American people," Carter declared in July, "I have been reminded again that all the legislatures in the world can't fix what's wrong with America." Note that Carter always knew that America was sick unto death, and was merely reminded of this once more. How does Carter know this? The same way Susan Sontag knows that "the white race is the cancer of human history."

Actually, the Carters gloat over the moral corruption of America, which, they seem to think, presents a background against which their own moral rectitude can shine forth with dazzling luminosity. Thus, on August 6, with Carter's performance as President generally rated as failing, he let the American people know of his efforts to Christianize a heathen head of state: "While teaching an adult Bible class at the First Baptist Church of Washington, Carter said yesterday [August 5, 1979] that the 'roots of the weakness of the Christian church, one of them anyway, is the reluctance to assume the responsibility placed on our shoulders.'" He was referring, of course, to his responsibilities as a Baptist, not as a President: "Noting that a Christian should try to win new followers [reported the UPI news dispatch], the President said he made such an effort during his trip to South Korea in late June." President Carter, we learn, "tried to convert President Park Chung Hee to Christianity and the South Korean leader was 'very interested'—but matters now rest in 'God's hands.'" One wonders which god, or whose god, will decide this matter. After all, let us not forget that even the officially atheist Mr. Brezhnev "has" a deity, for he warned Carter that god would not forgive us if the Senate did not ratify SALT II.

Apropos of President Carter's attempts to religionize politics, what was curiously, much less publicized than his efforts to convert President Park was his inviting not one, not two, not three—but five—theologians to his Camp David domestic summit. The sociologist Robert Bellah shared the evening with them and described the experience as follows: "Carter feels at home with the religiously sincere; he opened and closed with a prayer. It was actually very moving; we felt like we'd been at a religious experience." It is an altogether deliciously ironic situation: A child cannot now say a prayer in school, but abroad, on a tax-supported diplomatic mission, the President can try to convert another head of state to Christianity; while at home, at a tax-supported gathering organized to prop up his sagging authority, the President can open and close the meeting with a prayer.

Thus, we are confronted with a President who talks incessantly about making sacrifices, but is unwilling himself to make the sacrifice of, say, restricting his Christianizing efforts to non-official occasions. But, then, why should *he* sacrifice? He is not a sinner. We are. This explains why both President and Mrs. Carter feel so strongly that it is we who should make sacrifices and more sacrifices—and who should be grateful to those who so abuse us. The Carterian remedy—a veritable witch's brew of religion, socialism, and mental health—is, indeed, a fitting potion to be dispensed by faith healers.

Like all such remedies, it is, of course, for patients only. Bertrand Russell did not only preach about sharing. He believed that a man should live from what he earns and give away his inheritance. Ludwig Wittgenstein, the great Austrian linguist-philosopher, gave away an even larger patrimony. But what have the Carters and their cronies shared with the poor? What sacrifices have Peter Bourne and Bert Lance made for the country?

Patrick Caddell, the Carter's personal pollster, we learn from *Time* magazine (August 6, 1979), relaxes by "whipping around town in his gold-covered Mercedes." Let the peasants relax by riding around in car pools.

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Rosalynn Carter as the Big Nurse

If Jimmy Carter is the doctor, determined to wean his addict-patient off everything that makes his life worth living, then Rosalynn Carter must be his nurse-assistant. Sally Quinn, writing in the *Washington Post*, has actually suggested that Mrs. Carter is "playing nurse." As Quinn sees it, however, it is Jimmy Carter who is the patient, and we are the worried relatives whose anxiety she tries to soothe:

> She is the nurse. He is the patient. She has come to the waiting room to reassure the concerned relatives. They are not listening to what she is saying. They are listening to how she is saying it.... She tells them everything that can be done is being done. She tells them the patient is fine. But he needs their encouragement and support.

While Quinn's interpretation is not without merit, the facts fit the scenario I am suggesting better. Rosalynn Carter is the nurse, all right—but she is the Big Nurse, she is Nurse Ratched of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* fame; Jimmy Carter is the emasculated doctor whose formal powers she wields; and we, the American people, are the patient-enemy, whom she/they are determined to bring to heel. With the best "therapeutic" intentions and methods, of course.

"I bring," said Mrs. Carter in Pine Bluff, Arkansas in July, "greetings from Jimmy. I left him at home and Amy is away at camp so he's going to be very lonesome. But he said to tell you hello. I want you to know he's healthy and we're having a wonderful time at the White House.... He's healthy. He's happy. He's confident; and he's optimistic about the future of the country."

Quinn quotes this passage as typical of the sort of thing Rosalynn Carter says when she is standing in for the President. It illustrates, she says, "the nurse-patient image [which] arises time and again as she continues to defend her husband; to promote him in a way one would not expect a President to need."

Quinn's remark is consistent with my suggestion that while Mrs. Carter seemingly enhances her husband's image, actually she diminishes it. Since it is unlikely that she would publicly announce feeling ashamed of Mr. Carter, her protestations of "I am proud of Jimmy" strike a false note.

Increasingly, commentators are noting that although the American people elected Jimmy Carter as President, they hav got Rosalynn Carter as co-President—at least. In Dallas in July she was called "the President's secret weapon" (an interesting metaphor), and a minister there led prayers for "those who lead this great nation, Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Carter." In one of her speeches on her Texas tour, Mrs. Carter slipped into speaking as if she were indeed President. After touring a "camp for emotionally and physically disadvantaged children," she told an assembled group that "I have a bill now before Congress" to implement improved mental health care. Speaking in Dallas on the same tour, she modestly remarked, apropos of the Camp David domestic summit: "I sat in on the meetings; I listened with him and we, uh, he made the decisions."

In a story that verged on being adulatory, *Time* magazine (August 6) reported on Mrs. Carter's July tour of the country in praise of the President. Under the title "Selling True Grit—and by God She's Good at It," *Time* illustrated Mrs. Carter's effectiveness as a popular politician by citing a Los Angeles bystander who witnessed her performance and remarked admiringly: "Now why couldn't *she* be the President?"

In an unofficial sense, Mrs. Carter is, indeed, the President. She views herself, at the very least, as co-President. Her own remarks about her role are revealing. "The President of the United States [not Jimmy] cares what I think," she has told reporters. "I have influence. I know it." About her present situation, she has remarked: "I find myself in the eye of history." Since she has also claimed having "always been more political" than her husband, it would have been more truthful if she had taken more responsibility for her actions and said that she had thrust herself into the eye of history. Surely, there is nothing passive about her advice that the White House band stop playing "Hail to the Chief" — a suggestion ostensibly made to "de-imperialize" the Presidency. She succeeded. "The White House discovered," commented Harry Kelly (in the

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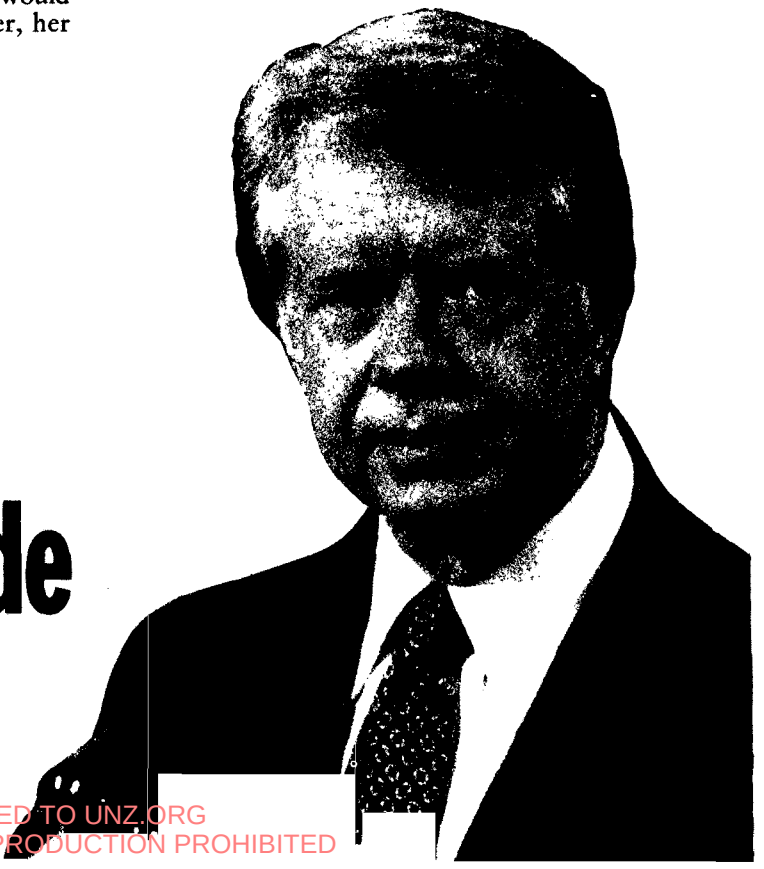

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Chicago Tribune, August 2), "that without pomp, the President was just another guy with a shoe shine." In the meanwhile, Mrs. Carter has done everything possible to insure that she is not perceived as just another woman with a rich husband.

The impression that Mrs. Carter is using not only her position as the President's wife but also her much-touted concern for mental health to satisfy her own cravings for power and publicity is supported by everything that has happened,or not happened, with respect to mental health during the Carter administration. Instead of a survey of official psychiatric "achievements" or statistics, I shall cite some events that, I believe, illustrate Rosalynn Carter's real stand on mental health.

Mrs. Carter, let us keep in mind, has not been unduly modest in her role as the promoter of psychiatry. She has served as Honorary Chairperson of the President's Commission on Mental Health. She has received numerous honors from psychiatric groups, such as the American Psychiatric Association—and for psychiatric causes, for example, from the National Council of Negro Women. She was an ardent supporter of Dr. Peter Bourne. Furthermore, as she herself has stated, *she* now has a bill before Congress —"to implement improved mental health care" (whatever that means).

Rosalynn Carter often speaks on mental health. On May 7, 1979, she addressed the World Health Organization, in Geneva. On that occasion, she was, as usual, full of compassion for the psychiatrically downtrodden. "The reality of mental health care in America," she said to the guardians of mental health in, among other places, the Soviet Union, "is that in too many cases those without power or influence suffer from severe discrimination in the delivery of services." Note here Mrs. Carter's emphasis on discrimination against mental patients, a subject to which I shall return in a moment.

On May 16, only nine days after speaking in Geneva, Mrs. Carter addressed the American Psychiatric Association in Chicago. That speech—full of psychiatric platitudes praising the mental health lobby—nevertheless also contained some notable passages. She spoke of her devotion to building "a more caring society," of her "sense of compassion for those who are vulnerable," and of her determination to eradicate the stigma of mental illness. "Until we change this aura of ignorance and prejudice," our efforts to improve care will be in vain," she concluded.

But words, as an old saying has it, are cheap. They are especially cheap if they are unsupported or contradicted by the speaker's actions. Such is the case with Mrs. Carter's platitudinizings about psychiatry. As it happened, very soon after her ringing speeches against psychiatric stigmatization, delivered in Geneva and Chicago, she had a chance to show whether she meant what she said.

In June, according to press reports, two foreigners, one from England and the other from Germany, holding valid U.S. visas, were denied entry because as homosexuals they were automatically classified as "psychopathic personalities." Here, in summary, is one of these episodes, as reported by the Associated Press:

> Customs officials asked Karl Kinder if he was homosexual when they found a copy of a gay magazine in his suitcase, when he arrived in Minneapolis from his home in West Germany. Kinder, 32, said he replied: "No, I'm bisexual." As a result, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service inspectors denied Kinder entrance into the United States and he was forced to fly back to West Germany. ...The incident was the second time in two weeks that a foreigner was denied entrance to the United States for reasons of sexual preference. ... "I don't believe it," Kinder said as he held his passport open to show the large "CANCELLED" which covered the page. "They say this country is free and everything. I feel like a criminal, but I've done nothing wrong. ... In Germany gay is legal since 1969."

Human rights, as we know all too well, are won by confronting actual, real injustices—not by protesting about abstract "discriminations." They are won by refusing to recant one's religious or scientific views, by publicly denouncing the scapegoating of a Dreyfus—or of a homosexual. Has Mrs. Carter spoken out against the U.S. Immigration code's psychiatric standards, which enshrine the very discriminations that she claims to be opposing? No, she never has. To my knowledge, she has never spoken out about *any actual case* of psychiatric violation of human freedom and dignity. Indeed, how could she? She supports the organizations responsible for these discriminations.

As I noted earlier, Mrs. Carter brags shamelessly about having a bill of her own before Congress "to implement mental health care"—a remark all too revealing of her personal vanity rather than of her concern for individuals accused of mental illness. In the immigration cases I cited, Mrs. Carter had a golden opportunity to demonstrate her sincerity in doing away with psychiatric stigma and opposing political discriminations against persons identified as psychiatric patients. She could have introduced a bill—or, more modestly and precisely, she could have asked for a bill to be introduced—in Congress repealing the immigration law excluding homosexuals from America. She could have done so—but she didn't.

While still on the subject of our immigration regulations, I want to call attention here to the contrast between their unremitting hostility toward psychiatry's favorite scapegoats and their truly enlightened attitude toward those suffering from real, though contagious, diseases. On July 19, apropos of the influx of Indochinese refugees into the United States, the *New York Times* reported that San Francisco health officials found a "significant" incidence of tuberculosis and leprosy among them. However, this constituted no bar to their entry into the country. A U.S. Public Health Service official, quoted by the *Times,* commented that "tuberculosis responded quickly to antibiotics, and that leprosy was very difficult to transmit despite its biblical image."

In short, it is the state—the United States government—that produces the psychiatric stigma attached to homosexuals. And it is the state—the United States government—that produces the stigma of Americans as gasoline junkies. It is a supreme irony of history that in Germany today homosexuality is legal and gas is plentiful—while in America homosexuality is, in most states, illegal and gas is about to be rationed.

Stigmatizing the stigmatizers

In an essay in *Inquiry* in September 1978, I predicted that President Carter's playing psychiatrist was not going to protect him from himself becoming the target of psychiatric derogation. Now my prediction has come to pass with a vengeance—and I must say it could not have happened to a more deserving person. On July 20, Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska declared, on the Senate floor, that President Carter "may be approaching some sort of mental problem ... we are worried about his having some kind of breakdown." Questioned about his remark by reporters, he later repeated

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that President Carter "is acting, I think, in a very erratic manner and I do not think that's good for the country...." Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut was more direct. "I think the President is nuts," he told the press on July 17.

Soon *The New York Times* published an article [in its Sunday Magazine, August 5, 1979] by Eugene Kennedy, Professor of Psychology at Loyola University in Chicago, suggesting that Mr. Carter was mentally ill. Kennedy speculated about "the darkness that invaded [Carter's] soul" and, in effect, diagnosed the President as suffering from depression:

> The President has spoken words that seemed to be carefully prepared, but he also invested them with the downbeat music of his own depressed attitude. For now his own immobilized spirit has been laid bare, as he almost plaintively asks the people to show him how to lead them. The enormous passivity of the man, as revealed in the last section of his speech, distresses Americans because it pulls at them like an ethnic mother in a situation comedy who battles for self-esteem and dominance through making other people feel guilty...

Having diagnosed Carter, Kennedy called for therapy—recommending that "we offer [the President] support and sympathy along with a demand [sic] that he do something about the internal conflicts that he has so publicly advertised."

For my part, I will eschew analyzing (in the sense of psychoanalyzing) the President. Instead, I will cite evidence to show that far from being a mad person, he is just a bad President.

For example, after his Camp David domestic summit, Carter declared that "the problem [facing the nation] was not primarily political. All the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America." Such statements—and Carter has made many—make it frighteningly clear that he has no concept of what an American President, the leader of a free, pluralistic society with a limited form of government, is supposed to be or do. Sometimes it seems that Carter confuses himself with, or would like to be, an Ayatollah Khomeini, or at least an Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. But, luckily, Americans do not look to their President for moral leadership. They look for that to churchmen, to writers, poets and social critics, to Supreme Court Justices—and, most often, of course, to respected members of their own families. The American President is the leader of his political party. He is supposed to be a politician—and he is a politician, whether he likes it and admits it or not. Instead of listening to living socialist critics of America, President Carter might learn more by reading dead masters of political philosophy—like Aristotle, who warned that "the man who seeks to dwell outside the political relationship is either a beast or a god."

In their amateurish attempt to depoliticize politics, President and Mrs. Carter are setting a dangerous example indeed. It is unfortunate enough that the American state has as much power to meddle in our lives as it now has. It is positively alarming when the President asserts that the powers the state wields are totaly insufficient for the task at hand. Such a view, however obliquely stated, can only mean an advocacy of still greater powers for the state. That such a stance should now be assumed by a man who is powerless through his own faults makes it only the more dangerous and pathetic. For an American President to plead with the American people that "We simply must have faith in each other," and that "restoring that faith ... is now the most important task we face" is, in my opinion, both dangerous and pathetic.

A grown-up person does not whimper for faith or trust in him. He knows that there is only one way to gain such faith—by earning it through demonstrated competence, honesty, and reliability. There is no other way. But like the priests and psychiatrists he emulates, Carter believes in word magic. He prays often. That may be good for his soul, but it won't do any more for our gas supply than the Indians' rain dances did for their harvest. How deeply Carter believes in word magic is illustrated by the closing cadences of his July 15th sermon to the nation. After detailing the countless ways in which he proposes to curtail our freedoms, Carter added—as if Orwell had never written *1984*: "I do not promise you that this struggle for freedom will be easy." What struggle for freedom? The struggle to abstain from driving our own cars and setting our own thermostats?

But the most significant, and perhaps the most alarming, part of Carter's speech was yet to come. "Let your voice be heard," he said. "Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country." Is it enough if we *say* something good? Do we also have to *mean* it, or is that not necessary? Does what we say have to be *true,* or doesn't that matter either?

"Mrs. Carter is using her much-touted concern for mental health to satisfy her own cravings for power."

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That Carter is scapegoating us is really too obvious to need belaboring. Mary McGrory has also noted it. "Washington's first Citizen, Jimmy Carter, just can't stand the capital," she has written. "It's the city he loves to hate. On television, he said, 'Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country.' But whenever he has a chance, he says something bad about us."

Carter thus blames the American people for the mistakes of their elected representatives—in particular, the President and the Cabinet he appoints. Existentially, the people too are, of course, responsible for what has gone wrong. But that surely does not excuse the politicians for what they have done wrong.

Tragically, what American politicians have done wrong is too painfully obvious for words. The very simplicity of their "sins" makes their mischief seem somehow not their fault. We libertarians know that isn't so. We know that they have sinned against us and against our country by taxing too much, spending too much, wasting too much, and interfering, in every way possible, with the power of the free market to regulate the exchange of goods and services.

The Carters' evasion of these elementary facts of economics and politics is, in the end, what makes them resemble so much the modern psychiatrist and makes their performance resemble a psychodrama. The modern psychiatrist's trick of the trade has been to claim that whatever is, is really something else. A man kills someone; he didn't do it because he wanted his money or because he hated him—but because he was mentally sick. A man has sexual affairs with many women; he doesn't do it because he likes sex or sexual variety—but because he wants power. And so on ad infinitum.

In the same way, the Carters claim that what looks like politics is really something else. Addressing the National Urban League in Chicago in July, Mrs. Carter declared that "the problems go deeper. We, as a country, are losing our confidence and our values." When Solzhenitsyn said the same thing last year, Mrs. Carter vigorously protested. But never mind that. What I want to call attention to here is her repeated use of the word "deeper" — which is pure psychobabble. To the psychobabbler, nothing is ever "more superficial." Say that someone else's "problems" are "deeper"—and presto, you appear to be a "deeper" person.

President Carter too, as I noted earlier, likes to hint darkly that our political problems are really not political at all. That, no doubt, is why of the 18 Congressmen he invited to the Camp David summit, not a single one was a Republican; or why, after the summit, not a single person fired by Carter "happened," in Mrs. Carter's memorable words (spoken to the National Urban League), "to be black." Mrs. Carter has articulated her own denial that the Camp David theatrics had anything whatever to do with "politics." "I might add," she said in her address to the National Urban League, "that none [of the guests invited to Camp David] was called to talk about politics. The matters of importance to our country today transcend politics."

If that is what happened at Camp David, what does Nick Thimmesch mean by asking: "...what are we to think about the prevalence of liberal economists (not known to support energy development) and other hangers-on at the Camp David revival meeting? Or was this really a political gathering?"

Is Rosalynn Carter's version of this affair rhetoric? Is it mendacity? Is it self-deception? Who is to say? It seems best to view her utterances as the lines spoken by one of the leading figures in the psychodrama the Carters are putting on in Washington. But performing in a psychodrama is—as I noted at the beginning—not the sort of thing that is likely to enhance the actors' credibility or dignity. And so it is with the President and Mrs. Carter.

Matrimonial loyalty is one thing. Deluding oneself that one's wife is an economic and political expert, when she is not, is quite another. Deputizing her to act *in loco presidentis* is going out on the proverbial limb still further.

The same considerations apply to Mrs. Carter. Her devotion to her husband (if that is what it is), is admirable. But does she really help or harm her husband's cause? She stomps the country repeating over and over again that "He [Jimmy] is healthy" [Who said he wasn't?]; that "he's happy" [Who said he isn't?]; that "he's confident; and he's optimistic about the future of the country."

But if President Carter is so confident about the future of the country, why does he preach the very opposite message? And if he is so happy, why doesn't he look happy? ❑

Thomas S. Szasz is the author of more than 15 books, including such classics as *The Myth of Mental Illness*, *The Theology of Medicine*, and *Ceremonial Chemistry*. He writes frequently for magazines.

"For an American President to plead that 'we simply must have faith' is both dangerous and pathetic."

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Private Schools -And Why They Aren't

LEE SCHUBERT

FOR FOUR DAYS EARLY LAST December, the IRS auditorium in Washington was the scene of a confrontation of apparently unprecedented magnitude. In one sense, nothing unusual was going on. The Internal Revenue Service was holding hearings on a proposed revenue procedure, and such hearings take place all the time in Washington. But from all accounts, the public uproar occasioned by the particular proposal in question surpassed anything reporters had seen before.

What was the fuss about? Something very dear to the hearts of most Americans: the education of their children.

Ostensibly, the IRS was proposing guidelines for determining whether certain private elementary and secondary schools are racially discriminatory. Those which are would be ineligible for tax exemptions under the Internal Revenue Code.

But the real threat had little to do with racial discrimination. The guidelines were so poorly conceived that many schools would have been presumed discriminatory on the flimsiest possible evidence and then forced to defend themselves by satisfying arbitrary and often irrelevant criteria. The power to tax is the power to destroy, and countless parents and school administrators all across the country saw the real issue as the potential destruction of a large portion of the private school system.

The greatest uproar came from supporters of religious freedom. Statistics alone prove that any threat to private schools in America is primarily a threat to schools with religious affiliations. People for whom religion is the central part of their lives are understandably outraged when they see an assault upon the First Amendment guarantee of free exercise of religion.

There is an even broader reason for the extent of opposition to the guidelines proposed by the IRS. It is that virtually everyone involved in any way with private education realized that this was no isolated instance. What the IRS was trying to do was simply part of a growing conflict between private education and government control. One reason why that conflict is increasing at the present time is simply that private education itself is aggressively growing.

Recent estimates by the National Center for Education Statistics show that 17 percent of elementary and secondary schools in America are private and that they enroll over ten percent of all school children. That is a lot of children, and the evidence is that the number will continue to climb.

There are several obvious reason for a swing toward private schools. Most of them have to do with the increasingly clear failures of the public schools. Many parents are literally afraid for their children's safety, and recent studies of juvenile delinquency in the public schools show that their fear is well founded. In addition, there has been an increasing flood of evidence of the academic decline of public schools. The drop in College Board scores suggests

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this, as does the widespread opposition to minimum proficiency requirements for graduation from high school. No one would object to such requirements if he thought the schools were giving children even a minimal level of education. Still another indication is the large non-Catholic enrollment in parochial schools in black neighborhoods. The parents of these children are motivated not by religion but by their dissatisfaction with the public schools.

There is another reason for the growth of private schools. It is that the basic atmosphere in public schools has become morally offensive to a very large segment of the American population. One man who was jailed for refusing to send his children to school described the public schools as "cesspools." Many parents share his assessment. They regard public schools as breeding grounds for drug use, sexual activity and what they regard as a generally immoral and anti-religious approach to life.

The fact that such moral and religious values are a major basis for the growing disillusionment with public education is evidenced by the sectors of the private school movement which are growing the fastest. Almost all observers agree that the greatest growth right now is among "Christian schools," a phrase which refers primarily to schools associated with conservative protestant denominations outside of the Catholic, Episcopal and Lutheran school systems which have traditionally dominated the field. A close second appears to be the Hebrew Day School movement, which has been accelerating not only in numbers of schools but also by spreading outside its traditional Orthodox base to include many Conservative and even a few Reformed schools. Ironically, the public school system, which speaks incessantly about "character-building" and "good citizenship," seems to appeal the least to people who emphasize such spiritual values the most.

It is also within the very spiritually-oriented Christian school movement that the most dire view of the government's intentions is to be found. It was evident at the IRS hearings last December that many of the fundamentalist preachers and school administrators who gave testimony saw the present conflict as part of an all-out war. But from their point of view, the war is not of their making. Rather, they believe that the government has already launched a determined, organized, step-by-step campaign to destroy private education in America.

The basic logic of this apparently extreme view has a certain plausibility. Its proponents state that the government is aware of the increasing disillusionment with public schools and sees the rapid growth of the Christian school movement as a serious threat to the whole public school system. They claim that currently about two and a half new Christian schools are opening every day and project this rate of growth to conclude that by 1990 half the school children in America could be attending Christian schools. Even if the validity of that projection seems dubious, it is entirely believable that the public education establishment must view with alarm the fact that private, religiously affiliated schools are proliferating with lightning speed in such populous states as California and Ohio. To expect the government to use its diverse regulatory powers to counter such a threat is only to expect it to do to the private sector in education what it has been doing to the private sector as a whole ever since the New Deal.

Whatever the government's specific intent in regard to private education may be, it is no coincidence that church-related schools are in the forefront of the growing conflict. About 95 percent of all private elementary and secondary schools in America have some sort of religious affiliation and this fact inevitably makes religious freedom a central issue in any debate over government control of private education. The First Amendment guarantees the right of "free exercise" of religion, and clergy, school administrators and parents have all argued forcefully that the policies of schools with religious affiliations belong under the heading of the exercise of religion.

Are schools religious organizations?

IN APPARENT RECOGNITION OF THE TREmendous implications of the free exercise clause, the government has generally attempted to deny that church-related schools are themselves religious organizations. The trouble with that argument is that it flies in the face of the virtually unanimous view of churches themselves, many of which consider their school systems to be essential means of propagating the faith. Fortunately, this fairly obvious fact is receiving strong support from the courts. In fact, the principle of religious freedom is emerging as by far the most effective basis for challenging government regulation of private education.

A signal case in Kentucky in 1978 produced a sweeping judicial denunciation of *any* state interference in the policies of a group of Catholic schools, excepting only health and safety regulations. The decision was a virtual libertarian manifesto, both in its general theory and in its specific points. Judge Henry Meigs of the Kentucky Circuit Court upheld the basic principle that the operation of the schools was an "exercise of religion," and as such was protected in its entirety by the First Amendment. Furthermore, he specifically denied the state the right to prescribe textbooks or insist that teachers be state-certified. He underscored the latter point with a statement which should put fear into the hearts of everyone in the public school establishment: he declared that the amount of training received by teachers has absolutely no demonstrable effect on "student academic achievement."

The Kentucky case is not an isolated example. In some ways the 1979 decision of a U.S. district court in a case involving the IRS is even more radical, if less broad in scope. The IRS had attempted to deny a tax exemption to the fundamentalist-oriented Bob Jones University because it forbids interracial dating and marriage. The court held that this policy is a basic part of the institution's religious practice and that the IRS therefore had no right to interfere. Ironically, the decision came while the IRS was still trying to develop viable guidelines for denying tax exemptions to schools which practice racial discrimination.

Because of the preponderance of religiously affiliated schools, no government regulation of private schools can avoid raising the question of religious freedom at least indirectly. However, several current issues pertain very directly to this issue and raise explicit questions concerning the separation of church and state.

A key confrontation which pertains specifically to the issue of religious freedom is the present effort by the National Labor Relations Board to force parochial schools to engage in collective bargaining with their lay teachers. The legal power of the NLRB to force collective bargaining has stood the test of time and the courts for more than forty years. No court is now interested in even hearing cases challenging that power. Therefore, the only reason there is any controversy over this issue is that the particular employers in question are *religious* organizations claiming

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The atmosphere in public schools has become offensive to a very large segment of the American population. Many parents are literally afraid for their children's safety, and their fear is well founded.

that government regulation of their hiring practices constitutes interference with the free exercise of religion. Another reason for the great importance of this confrontation is that the NLRB's main target is the Catholic school system. This time the government is taking on not a few independent fundamentalist schools but a truly formidable challenger: the Catholic Church. That probably comes as close as possible to the government actually picking on someone its own size.

It will be a major battle. The first round has already reached the Supreme Court, which has awarded a conspicuously qualified victory to the Church. In *National Labor Relations Board v. Catholic Bishops of Chicago,* the court barred the NLRB from forcing Chicago parochial schools to engage in collective bargaining with teachers. But in the best tradition of a bench that has hold of something too hot to handle, the ruling avoided the basic First Amendment question altogether. Instead of determining whether or not forced collective bargaining for parochial schools would violate freedom of religion, the court merely declared that Congress had not expressed an "affirmative intention" that the Roman Catholic schools involved were to be covered by the collective bargaining requirement. Justice Brennan clearly thought that was a chicken-hearted approach to the case. The word he actually used in the minority opinion was "irresponsible."

Irresponsible or not, the ruling was a clear and open invitation to ask Congress for clarifying legislation. Al Shanker, the powerful president of the American Federation of Teachers, quickly announced that he will do just that: unless some other case gets a more meaningful decision out of the Court, round two will be fought on Capitol Hill.

Meanwhile, the Department of Labor is attacking from another direction by trying to extend the coverage of unemployment compensation programs to include religious-school employees. Using recent federal law changes as its authority, Labor is claiming that federal funds can be withheld from states which do not extend their unemployment benefit laws in this way. So far, the schools' claim that their employees are for practical purposes church employees and therefore need not be covered by unemployment compensation is being supported by various state agencies. It seems possible that the ultimate showdown on this one will be between federal and state government rather than directly between church and state.

Their specific relevance to the principle of religious freedom is what makes compulsory unemployment compensation and collective bargaining issues of special concern to church-related schools. There are many other areas of government interference which theoretically affect religious and secular schools about equally, although virtually all of them actually have a greater total effect on religious schools simply because there *are* so many more religious schools. Especially important is a whole range of rulings and proposed legislation concerning charitable giving, charitable deductions and tax exemptions. Even non-religious private schools are usually tax-exempt, and their very survival almost always depends upon voluntary contributions. To tax them, either directly or by taxing funds which donors choose to contribute to them, would almost certainly mean closing the doors of many schools which are already desperately struggling to withstand the competition of tax-supported public schools.

Even the rare private school which is not concerned with

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religious freedom and which could survive taxation still faces a broad spectrum of state controls. These vary widely from state to state. Not all states insist that private schools be accredited or even licensed in any way. But those which do typically establish minimum requirements for curricula, libraries and teacher qualifications.

Compulsory schooling—the ultimate regulation

AND EVEN STATES WHICH DO NOT OFficially regulate private schools actually do so in a *de facto* manner. The basic school regulation, found in virtually every state, is the compulsory school attendance law. This law is beautiful from the state's point of view, because by requiring children to go to school the state inevitably authorizes itself to define what a school is. And the basic definition, whether explicit or implicit, is that a school is a place like a public school. A state such as New Jersey can refrain from licensing private elementary and secondary schools and yet require that they provide "instruction equivalent to that provided in the pubic schools." Thus, without stating any official standards for private education at all, the state actually establishes every characteristic of its public schools as a standard by which to judge private schools. And a child attending a school which does not meet those standards *in the opinion of the local school district officials* can be forced to go to a public school instead.

Despite the onerous nature of compulsory school attendance laws and other state legislation dealing with education, private schools would be in a comparatively better situation if those were the *only* regulations with which they had to contend. As it is, they are faced with a host of tangential problems which emanate from a vast web of federal, state and local laws and agency regulations not even specifically aimed at education.

A fine example is the recent proliferation of laws requiring facilities for the handicapped in "public buildings." Following typical statist logic, this category of course includes private schools. It would be hard to find a school administrator who wants to discriminate against handicapped children. But when a small private school is struggling to scrape up enough money for a new building in order to add a few grades to its program, the requirement to install an elevator on the hypothetical chance that it might sometime in the future have a student in a wheelchair is not just inconvenient; it is a real financial burden. If you don't believe it, price an elevator.

Laboratory facilities cost a lot too. And even in states which do not force private schools to meet licensing or accreditation requirements, building codes nevertheless impose countless requirements for various categories of buildings, including schools. This is a real Catch-22. You can operate your school however you want but you cannot build it in the first place unless you meet building code requirements. These sometimes include specifications for lab facilities. They always include countless complicated and costly details.

Schools are faced not only with state building codes but also with all sorts of local regulations. There are, for example, run-off, sewage-capacity and road-access regulations. (The latter tend to be based on some bureaucrat's estimate of the future growth of the school's enrollment rather than on the school's own plans.) And at the federal level, decisions made in the Departments of Agriculture, Energy and Transportation all affect the practical operation of private schools—as does the hottest new game in the regulatory field: environmental impact. Environmental codes hit you even before you start building. You need permission to move dirt.

But in surveying the ways that the government controls private education, we must not look only at the stick. There is also the carrot. An especially subtle threat to private schools lies in the increasing amount of government funding available to them. It is commonplace for school districts to provide textbooks and transportation to private-school children within their boundaries. Of course, the textbooks usually have to be approved, and transportation to school brings to the forefront the question of what is or is not a school. The more money that private schools accept from any level of government, the less autonomy they will retain. So far, the most extreme case of government financing of private education is in the area of schools for handicapped and emotionally disturbed children. Recent federal legislation requires all states to provide appropriate schooling for *all* their children. Since none of them have adequate special education facilities in their public school systems, the states have to place children in special private schools and then pick up the tab. Since many of these schools are extremely expensive residential treatment facilities which few families can afford out of their own pockets, the availability of public funding has greatly changed their character over the last few years. For most practical purposes, they are now really public, with the state paying the tuition for almost all their students and determining which schools are eligible for funding. After all, he who pays the piper calls the tune.

How many schools will be dancing to that tune in the future? Perhaps all of them. With the growing demand for some form of tax relief for parents of private-school children comes the unavoidable danger that under such a system all private schools might become functionally public in the same way as have the schools for the handicapped. Vouchers or tax credits would only be available to parents sending their children to schools which the government recognized as schools. Maverick schools which failed to meet whatever criteria were imposed for such recognition would no longer be competing at a disadvantage only against tax-supported schools; they would now also be competing at a disadvantage against tax-*favored* schools. Parents might gain the freedom to choose between public and private schools at the cost of a reduced range of choices within the private school spectrum.

Growing without schooling

THERE IS ONE THING WHICH IS ALready tougher than exercising free choice over the type of school one's children will attend. That is choosing against school altogether. Educating children at home is really the ultimate form of private education, and it meets with the strongest opposition from the government.

Although state laws generally allow for the theoretical possibility of parents educating their own children, the standard continues to be equivalence to public education. This is quite a catch. First of all, public school officials like to argue that there is some inherent educational advantage in having a lot of other children around. Under that notion, it is of course impossible for education at home to be equivalent to education at school. The same conclusion results from the modern tendency to evaluate education with a cash register. If quality is proportional to the amount of money spent on

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LESLEE J. NEWMAN

In private schools, which can only retain their student customers by keeping them (and their parents) happy, small classes, lower student-teacher ratios, and an atmosphere of affection and support are much more common.

lab equipment, gym equipment and audio-visual equipment, few private homes can hope to measure up.

The real problem, however, is that most parents who keep their children out of school *don't want* their education to be equivalent to what goes on in public schools. They think the methods of the public schools *stink*. Many of them think education in any school is virtually impossible, and take their children out of school precisely to give them something entirely different. As radical as this notion may seem, it is becoming increasingly popular and enjoys the vigorous support of no less distinguished an educator than John Holt. This movement is obviously an even greater threat to the education establishment than is the Christian school movement. And that establishment is fighting back with proportional zeal. Parents have actually gone to jail for refusing to send their children to school.

Often the decision as to whether parents are providing equivalent instruction resides with the local school district, whose superintendent thus becomes supreme dictator over the lives of both parents and children. Experience has shown that parents can often keep their children out of school successfully if they enlist the school district's support by offering to use the same textbooks, curricula and general educational approach that the public schools use. But if they admit that they don't want anything to do with the public schools' materials and have no use for their approach to education, they may soon discover that hell hath no fury like a superintendent scorned.

No matter what type of private education we examine, we see the public school system breathing down its neck and threatening it with extinction. The only safe way to meet that threat is to conform to the standards and methods of public schools. Private schools which do that are not shut down, but they are private in only a very limited sense. And as they accept more and more government money, ultimately they may cease to be private in *any* meaningful sense.

In the final analysis, the very existence of public education provides the government with a standard for controlling all education, whether public-school, private-school or non-school. And compulsory school attendance laws create the power to enforce that standard. As long as we have public schools and compulsory schooling, the proponents of autonomous private education will be marching on a treadmill. In theory, the way to get off that treadmill is simply to abolish compulsory schooling. It would not matter whether the government approved of a given school if no one had to go to school. Parents could send their children there anyway and call it a camp or a club or whatever. But in today's society, compulsory schooling is not something separate from the public school system. It is that system's enforcement mechanism, and it is in the very nature of any governmental institution that it have an enforcement mechanism. The only real way to challenge compulsory school attendance is to challenge public education itself. Although that institution has long been the major American sacred cow, the escalating disillusionment with its product suggests that the time for such a challenge may be approaching rapidly. Only then would there be any chance of truly freeing private education from government interference. ❑

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

American anarchism revisited

JAMES J. MARTIN

The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism, *by David DeLeon. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 242 pp., $14.00.*

ONE MAY BE INclined to stand back in awe at Professor DeLeon's daring and ambitious effort in tackling all the subjects he has brought together in what amounts to little more than a 150-page interpretative essay. To attempt to wrap up something as broad and complicated as this is indeed bold, but not likely to overwhelm those who already know something about the numerous matters involved. And it strikes this reader that the author is not the first to be dazzled and fascinated, and, ultimately, swamped, by his subject matter, and surely will not be the last. The richness and diversity and immense volume of the source material related to all the tendencies which its students tend to lump together under the designation "anarchism" will serve to attract curious and speculative investigators for a long time. But to call a large part of what is in this book an examination of "the American as anarchist" is both imaginative and generous.

Professor DeLeon's lateral digressions into subtopics which sometimes graze the subject point up the problem of separating anarchism from many seemingly related sentiments and impulses. Professor DeLeon recognizes this on his first page, where he suggests that his prolegomenon might have been titled "The American Radical," probably a better choice. His generous sallies into recounting the nature and activities of liberal reformism of many sorts and in many times, and his numerous brief semi-disquisitions on the general nature of politics and political theory, serve to illustrate and also to entertain, but they are surely departures from what the title of the book promises to be of primary concern.

Professor DeLeon's plunge into the subject provoked a reservation in this corner from the very start, as soon as I recognized the approach already taken by Eunice Minette Schuster in her *Native American Anarchism* in 1931, consisting of getting a running start by going back to the early 17th century New England divines in an effort to establish a pedigree for American anarchism by poring over the significance of their independent ideas concerning Church and State relations. I did not think this was valid nearly 40 years ago, and I still do not; I have always wondered how much of this was Schuster's own thinking, and how much of it was acquired from her mentor, Merle Curti. Now it is becoming an industry.

The important aspect of Professor DeLeon's work is his recognition that, in America, anarchism has been and is mainly a negative response to organization and power-gripping, and a resentment of their material and other advantageous consequences, and that it is a *tendency,* not a *program.* In this sense Americans do differ from the program-anarchists of Europe and elsewhere, but anarchism abroad is far from being exclusively devoted to programs, either in the past or now. The latter is so obviously a failure that persistence in its promotion and the endless recrimination in the anarchist press, especially that of Europe, as to what it should comprise, tends to make program-anarchism look slightly absurd to many Americans, even though the American scene has not been as innocent of program-anarchism's promotional propaganda as some might assume. And one must agree that not all of the non-American world has been obsessed with formulae, programs and manifestoes dedicated to supplying a substitute structure to that which they seek to terminate. Max Stirner, author of the ultimate encouragement to individual rebellion and self-liberation without a suggested replacement for what is to be overthrown, probably hardly ever ventured outside the confines of his native Germany. The achievements of anarchists have been preponderantly by individuals, and there is a large part of this which remains unknown, though recognized, like the submerged part of an iceberg, and successful because of the consistent and intelligent low-profile tactics of those involved. The fiascoes of many "activists" stand in contradiction to this, spectacular, dramatic, appealing, but the result of involvement in fuzzily-conceived operations mainly encumbered by sentimentalism, martyr complexes and hazy unshared idealism, which latter is one of mankind's great and enduring menaces. (Omitted from this brief survey and analysis is an attempted classification of the trendy "anarchist" of the last 15 years, with a "Smash the State" button on his lapel, with, as likely as not, a check from some branch of the government partially subsidizing his education nestling in his pocket, and a comfortable job in some part of the Establishment shortly after attaining a few post-teenage years.)

There is also in Professor DeLeon's narrative a theme of greater or lesser emphasis that somehow or other there simply is far too much middle class presence attending the thought and literary effort of anarchism, and that there is an excessive absence of proletarian presence, expressed or implied in several places. But intellectuals rarely stained by real toil have for a long time held that there is a neglected reservoir of 24-karat anarchism among the "workers," though the ranks do not seem to build up appreciably despite generations of

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paeans to "labor" from anarchist typewriter theorists and strategists, a stumbling block to understanding what it is all about for over a century. In 16 periods of employment at things ranging from operating a construction project jack-hammer to assembly line factory work, firing boilers, and railroad freight-handling, those with anarchist tendencies whom I encountered in that time, in the 1930s and '40s, I could have safely gathered within the confines of a phone booth.

People not already gifted with a rebellious temperament rarely respond to libertarian appeals of any kind, and the latter ranks are fortunate if they just maintain their ratio to the rest of the populace, year in and year out. No amount of proselytization ever made a race horse out of a cow, and one may bury someone with servile tendencies in copies of *The Ego and His Own* and produce nothing except suffocation. As for "labor," in America still mainly a largely shifting and rather amorphous part of the social order, the movement of many from proletarian to middle-class status (most polls of working people reveal that few of them do not *already* consider themselves part of the middle class) tends to make it a vast reservoir of conventional fixed views. Therefore it is hardly to be wondered at that the largest part of anarchist literary and agitational personalities have pronounced middle class moorings. Most of other ideas and thinking comes from there too.

This leads to a further speculation. Professor DeLeon might have included a few dozen other sub-topics in his collection while he was at it, and swept the scene from the cooperative movement (he largely slights monetary radicalism) and the decentralist homesteader impulse to the Jehovah's Witnesses and the right-wing tax-revolt and the related bewildering variety of survival-school activities. The JWs have surely been more anti-state than any religiously motivated "protest" group of the 17th-19th centuries, as their stands during 20th century American wars have plainly demonstrated (what other religious group dared to call World War I "a work of Satan" and patriotism "a certain delusion"?)

The point is that once you embark on an omnibus assembling of every social impulse which radiates any degree of anti-statist negativism and any measurable opposition to and rejection of organized power, you end up with an immense entourage that gets far beyond the confines of what one may conventionally designate or acknowledge as "anarchist"; that they may have little or no acquaintance with nor relationship to anarchist reading matter or anarchist oratory has no special significance. They simply lack a chronicler willing to include them in the narrative.

Experts estimate 15-million or more Americans who should do so by law consciously neglect to file an income tax return, to the immense but suppressed vexation of our home security state police, the Internal Revenue Service (or Bureau, as it was known 60 years ago, in its infancy.) What portion of them are to be incorporated in this registration of native American anarchist *tendencies*? What elements in the American Agriculture Movement can be isolated as specifically anarchist-inspired? If we are going to deal with anarchism as a *tendency*, there is fare more to American anarchist inclinations than what pedagogues maintain, and literary evidence substantiates.

To change the subject, or, rather, to bring up another aspect of it, is there a reason why so little anarchist theory comes to grips with the land question? The urban/industrial nature of so much visible radicalism tends to present a lop-sided view of the problem of sheer survival in the world, with too many assuming that major attention can be devoted to perpetual turning-over of cliches related to power and the abstractions radicals have always so dearly loved to reformulate, the closest we may have come to perpetual motion. They seem to think that agriculture is not work and farming populations can be ignored as non-proletarians, and that the whole situation will be transfigured some day by the conversion of farms to factories, their operation assumed by people alien to the soil, after the resident population has been liquidated. Everything is resolved as different facets of middle class bourgeois futility (Jules Romains remarks in a postwar book that the French *petite bourgeoisie* never forget their peasant origins, but in America the decimation of the rural population has been accompanied by an Orwellian-style brain-burning following which the new urbanites fail to remember much of anything, and food presumably results from the realization of a spontaneous act of the will of Horn and Hardart Automat customers). This rumination is a result of contemplating Professor DeLeon's cavalier and abrupt dismissal of Henry

FRIEDRICH ENGELS

"Max Stirner, author of the ultimate encouragement to individual rebellion, hardly ever ventured outside his native Germany."

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George, creating the impression that it was all a romantic bourgeois caper of a century ago, ignoring the continuity of Georgist thinking and reassessments to this day, the so-called "Georgist anarchists," among which one may number Frank Chodorov, their impressive literature and persistent dwelling upon this very basic problem, one which grows more severe with every upward leap in population totals. Which gets us back to something just as basic, while we are at it.

Perhaps we might profit from a study of the *family* as the basic well-spring of anarchist *tendencies,* instead of considering it as the font of the inculcation of reverence for God and Country, exclusively. For surely this is the place where we all start, and where fundamental ideas relating to self and to mutual aid are first engendered, the incubation place where dedication to one's welfare and to that of one's closest associates is first emphasized, and neglect or deliberate flouting of the demands of State abstractions and impersonal institutionalized power first is seen, felt, and emulated. We may have barely scratched the surface in the exploration of the place of origin of anarchist *tendencies.*

There is of course a vast difference between formal history and what has really happened. But for some, including this writer, there is a growing preference for achievement, no matter how little and obscure, as against the illusions of achievement. Libertarians should count their gains this way, not in prestigious public formalities, even when concerning themselves with victories against State power; announcing the triumph of "anarchy" or the coming inevitableness of libertarianism is comparable to the decreeing of production. It is the small and unblazoned successes of the unmemorialized that count so far, because anarchism as a "movement" has been true mainly in the sense that it is known that anarchists are inclined to roll from side to side while sleeping; one needs the vision of Superman or the Six-Million Dollar Man to detect otherwise.

Another criticism should be entered here, aimed at the traditional compartmentalizing of the ideologies of the varying sects and gurus of anarchism and its cousins. The fuzz-sorting expeditions resulting in the expectable and conventional Left-Right dichotomies may be an aid to the writer trying to file the various elements neatly in his mind, but they are really all just fragments of a common assemblage, the *Outsiders.* (The revolt against this Left-Right business is under way, and when it finally hits, it is going to leave a large part of our most glib socio-politico-economic mouthpieces in a state of advanced aphasia, as they have for this whole century come up with little else as an analytical and descriptive tool.)

And whether Americans form some kind of human pool in which the sentiments of libertarianism are presumed to gestate in a way superior to the rest of the world may be tried by future tests as the American State grows older and more rigid. Noble and hyperthyroid generalizations incorporating the usual frontier geopolitical self-praise aside, Americans have tended to behave in as herd-like a way as any other peoples, when placed under stress, and in most of their wars their behavior has been the answer to a slave-holder's dream.

Professor DeLeon is vastly proud of his bibliography, which amounts to a sixth of the total pages of his opus, so much so that he published it separately four or five years before the rest of his book, under the title *Threads in the Black Flag.* It no more than other bibliographies reflects the endless cannibalism that goes on in the bibliography-construction industry, and should be especially useful to those first approaching the subjects he has treated. The updated portions, dealing mainly with the writing of the last decade, will be found quite helpful, though one may quarrel long and loud as to what some of these people and their topics are doing in a book primarily advertised as a work dealing with American anarchism. One may also internalize reservations at his bright and cheerful selfserving in casually suggesting that his is the best (p. 1 of *Threads,* p. 197 of this book), but surely there can hardly be more than a taxiful of those experienced with anarchist literature who will agree with Professor DeLeon's genial promotion of Murray Bookchin as "probably the most systematic and intelligent of all anarchist theorists, past and present" (p, 199); this seems to be the sort of casual and gratuitous press-agentry which contemporary scholarship considers "creative." I am of the conclusion that the 19th century originals will be being read worldwide when the derivatives of the 20th will have been entirely forgotten. To get an idea of the difference between general bibliographies such as appends this book and those of specialists, one should consult for example the incredible 90-page listing exclusively of works by and about Max Stirner, worldwide, in Hans G. Helms' *Die ideologie der anonymen Gesellschaft.* Those readers with some acquaintance with the subject may find the chapter notes more useful than the bibliography.

"People not already gifted with a rebellious temperament rarely respond to libertarian appeals of any kind."

The last chapter of Professor DeLeon's book, another one sixth of his total text, is a sweeping socio-political overview of American life in recent times, written in the bravura manner of C. Wright Mills, William H. Whyte and Vance Packard, with just a touch of sociological bafflegab here and there, but which has about as much to do with the title of the book as bullfighting has to do with agriculture. On the last two pages he abandons his role of detachment and analysis and volunteers his own suggestions in the field of socio-economic proposals which he believes might straighten out our disorderly world and move it on to a desired plateau of adjustment to the uneven demands of our multitudinous populace.But to this writer, upon serious speculation devoted to his recommendations, they boil down to a recipe for our conversion into one vast *kibbutz.*

One may hope that the stealthy and cowardly ideological ploy aimed at defenestrating Professor DeLeon from his employment, which was rather widely explored some months ago, has failed, and that he continues to be able to work, since it is this reviewer's contention that, in the light of his best chapter, the fifth, he is capable of preparing a better book than this.

James J. Martin is the author of numerous historical books and articles, including the classic, *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in American, 1827-1908.*

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Back to basics

FELIX MORLEY

Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher, *by Henry Regnery. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 260 pp, $12.95.*

TOWARDS THE CLOSE of her posthumously published autobiography Agatha Christie wrote: *"I have never given in to anyone over what I write."* The emphasis is her own.

From the other side of the fence that separates author and publisher the equivalent might well be said by Henry Regnery. His *Memoirs of a Dissident Publisher* reveal a man who knew in advance the sort of manuscript he wanted to see in print, almost regardless of commercial prospects. Unfortunately there was never a Christie-Regnery affiliation.

As Regnery says: "The publisher's role is often misunderstood." It is his business to find a market for the literary wares that he finances and this expensive subsidization of course entitles him to make editorial suggestions. To these the author may or may not respond cooperatively and on the manner in which minds meet will depend the harmony of the relationship. The fledgling writer will probably be deferential, since to break into hard covers is a big step up the ladder to literary success. Even Agatha Christie admits to being malleable at the outset, though in later years publishers would line up to court her. Yet there is little doubt that her life story would have gained in readability from some discriminating pruning of trivia.

The best relationships between author and publisher are therefore to be expected in the case of a small firm, with more likelihood of personal appreciation on both sides. We have been moving away from this condition. Many of our historic publishing houses have become subsidiaries of huge conglomerates, where pressure for rapid profit on quick turnover is dominant. Regnery, in his modest way, has always been an eclectic rather than a "dissident" publisher. He has dissented vigorously from the belief that literary production should conform to popular taste. But he has never sought to indoctrinate his own ideas.

As related in these memoirs Regnery moved into book publishing through the medium of the old *Human Events* pamphlets, in which he and I were closely associated. Several of the immediate post-war studies emphasized that what was left of Western Civilization would collapse in Europe if Germany were reduced to the "goat pasture" that some Americans seemed to think desirable. In presenting this viewpoint Henry may have been influenced by his German ancestry and his student years in that country. But the theme seemed equally vital to me, with a completely English background.

While several of Regnery's early books were distinctly "revisionist"—such as Professor Charles C. Tansill's *Back Door To War*—the young publisher soon broadened his reach. There were important Regnery books on education and a distinct leaning towards the philosophic and religious, as in the story of *Great Saints,* by the Swiss Protestant theologian Walter Nigg. In its comments on this wide variety this memoir reveals a highly discriminating rather than a perversely dissident character. From one of his authors (Wilhelm Roepke) Regnery selects the quotation which "I like best of all." It is: "The highest interests of the community and the indispensable things of life have no exchange value and are neglected if supply and demand are allowed to dominate the field."

But behind this cultural

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affirmation Regnery conceals a will of the finest steel which can be inflexible where political values are concerned. Among these he gives first place to Order, without which individual freedom of course soon becomes impossible. This instinct for Order may well account in part for the strong attraction which Regnery says the Roman Catholic Church exerts for him. That its influence is authoritarian, in the best sense of the word, is certainly no objection in his mind. He is properly proud that *The Lord* (by Romano Guardini) "became the most successful book in our firm's history," going through nine large printings. "Young people," Regnery contends, "listened to Guardini in the confusion and uncertainty of the postwar period because he was able to offer them the wisdom and sense of order and direction they needed and longed for."

The premium placed on Order by Regnery helps to explain both his own strong leaning towards conservatism and the difficulties which have arisen to diffuse that movement as it has sought to take political form in the United States. There is no doubt that Russell Kirk and William F. Buckley, Jr., both launched by Regnery, have in his words "contributed substantially to the development of the modern conservative movement." Whether that influence will acquire political importance is more dubious. Contemporary Americans as a whole simply do not possess that instinct for Order by which Regnery sets such store. We are, indeed, in some respects more anarchic than orderly. And the history of conservative parties in other countries shows that they have largely depended on the retention of special privileges—such as a graded nobility, an established church, hereditary land ownership, protected mercantilism, a dominant military caste or some combination of these — which are not in keeping with the American way of life. The last conservative bastion in this country disappeared with the plantations of the Confederacy. Big Business cannot supply a substitute so long as it is kept competitive, a condition on which many of our nominal conservatives somewhat ironically insist.

One of Regnery's conservative galaxy really grapples with this underlying difficulty. Willmoore Kendall, in *The Conservative Affirmation,* flatly asserts that "the highest political loyalty," of the American conservative, "is to the institutions and way of life bequeathed to us by the Philadelphia Convention." Yet localized undertakings and personal self-government, as nurtured by the original Constitution, are not what contemporary conservatism wants most. The point was unconsciously sharpened by a recent (May 24) *Wall Street Journal* editorial. Grouping the elections of conservative Prime Ministers in Great Britain and Canada, the *Journal* said approvingly: "Both are fundamentally internationalist in outlook, promising to strengthen their nations' military power and contributions to NATO."

This certainly implies that in order to be called "internationalist" a conservative foreign policy should favor those "overgrown military establishments" and "entangling alliances" which were so roundly condemned by practically all the Founding Fathers. The policies to be followed by the British and the Canadian Conservatives is, of course, for their determination. But they can scarcely be used as models by our conservatives if the keystone of the latter is our own Constitution, as Kendall says must be the case. And Regnery, as his publisher, calls Kendall "without doubt one of the truly original and creative figures in the field of political science of his time."

This, I think, is a true estimate and if so the corollary is that our politics should be aligned, in principle, with the abiding issue that the framers of the Constitution had to confront. Should the United States remain a federal or become a unitary republic? Should political power continue to be divided and balanced, as so carefully planned, or should we let the executive authority of the President expand until it becomes overwhelming? Should we get involved in matters like the conduct of elections in Zimbabwe, or is the non-alignment "bequeathed to us by the Philadelphia Convention" still desirable? These are the sorts of issues that are very much alive today.

They cannot be answered by superficial dodging. Indeed the constitutional problem is not even confronted by the hostile posturing of two socialistic parties, with many Democrats favoring ever-greater centralization for Welfare while many Republicans do the same for Warfare. Here there is no Liberal vs. Conservative confrontation but merely a trade-off for unlimited extravagance under which the dollar is collapsing while representative government becomes meaningless. There is an ominous shadow-before in the growing number of voters who refuse to identify with either of the two old parties.

Henry Regnery does not explore this murky situation in his memoirs. But these show him to be a catalytic agent with an extraordinary capacity for developing and blending various strains of political philosophy. Such insight was not unusual in the infancy of this republic, but nowadays it is the politician rather than the ideas for which he stands that gets publicity. A dissidence shown in going back to basics is something with which the country could do more, right now.

Felix Morley, former Rhodes scholar, Pulitzer Prize winner, founding editor of *Human Events,* and author of many books, has recently published his own autobiography, *For The Record.*

Autodidact's progress

CHRISTOPHER WEBER

Never Too Late, *by John Holt. Delacorte Press: 245 pp., $10.00.*

JUST LAST NIGHT AS I write this, an acquaintance told me that tests made by the University of Vienna have "proved" that, as she put it, one only learns languages easily until the age of twenty-five. After that, she implied, you might as well forget it. We've all heard much the same sort of expert opinion about adults learning languages, and we've heard it applied to many other skills as well.

John Holt believes that one of society's problems today is that too many people listen to the "experts" who tell them what they can and cannot learn. Holt is of course best known for his ideas on education, his attacks on the public school system for actually inhibiting learning, and his contention that children are better off (as the title of his monthly newsletter puts it), "Growing Without Schooling." What he has done in *Never Too Late* is to buttress his theories by his own practical example. He uses his own experience with music to show both that adults can learn new skills and that, in large measure, they can do it on their own,

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John Holt: old dogs *can* learn new tricks, even better than young dogs.

without either teachers or lessons. He himself, with no musical training as a child, discovered music as an adult, took up the cello in his late 30s, and gradually became proficient enough at it, and enamoured enough of music, to give over several hours of each of his days to practice, and several evenings of each of his weeks to playing in orchestras, string quartets, and trios.

John Holt came from a family that, if it wasn't completely unmusical, at least never stressed music. When Holt's mother was young, she had had some piano lessons, but Holt remembers her playing the piano only on one occasion, and then only as a joke. And "everyone knew" his father couldn't sing: it was great fun for friends at parties to coax him into singing, and then roar with laughter after the first two or three notes. It was not until many years later, after Holt himself became musical, that he heard his father again on one of those occasions and realized that what "everyone knew" was wrong. "I discovered to my surprise that he sang it quite well, that if not dead on the tune he was very close to it." He certainly had the requisite natural ability. At what point in his life, Holt wonders, did someone, perhaps a music teacher, "slam the doors to music in my father's face?"

> This happens every year to tens of thousands of children, perhaps at home, more likely at school. The children are told to sing a song. Some child does not get it quite right. Perhaps the other children laugh, or some child—I have known a few like this—says, "Teacher, he isn't singing it right," or the teacher points it out himself.

Before long the suggestion is made that the child sing softly. "The child gets the idea. Something about his not being able to sing goes into his school record, so that later teachers will be alterted. And so the story is passed on." Holt has found, in fact, that almost everyone can sing, if trained properly. His father's "nonsinging" made him the center of attention at parties. It was, Holt states, his "parlour trick." "The idea that he could not sing was not just a part, but a treasured part, of his notion of himself." Many people "cling to and protect their images of themselves even when these images contain faults and weaknesses. It is easier to say 'I'm a non-singer' than to face the risks and possible disappointments of learning to sing."

Holt's musical passion began during prep school, where he braved the threats of punishment to listen after "lights-out," to records of the "big-band" jazz groups then popular. His first real exposure to classical music came when he saw, at eighteen, the Walt Disney film *Fantasia*. It was Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* that fired his imagination and stuck in his mind; and, as he says, "the images [of dinosaurs battling] certainly helped."

At prep school he joined the glee club: "What we were after was one more activity to list under our senior picture in the school year book." And if he and his contemporaries had not much experience with singing, "at least we had never found any reason to dislike it. So into the Glee Club we went." But what had begun as a fluke became a serious matter indeed, and all due to the teacher. "In four years at that school and four more at college, I remember only three or four teachers, if that many, who made me feel that they were deeply interested in, *loved*, what they were teaching." When his choir had trouble singing words without slurring them, this teacher

> would bare his teeth and show the tip of his tongue, pronouncing with extra clearness those ridiculous sounds. Of course we all laughed perhaps with more than a little mockery and contempt. He may well have heard this, but he didn't care. What was important was not his dignity as a faculty member, but the music, getting the words right.

Slowly, Holt began to realize that "if he isn't afraid of making a damn fool out of himself, maybe I don't have to be afraid of making a damn fool of myself."

He came to college "eager to sing." But when he tried out for the Glee Club there, he was rejected for having a "foggy, throaty, wheezy" voice. While obviously not a first-rate, or even a second-rate singer, Holt still can't understand why at that rich school, no provision was made for students who only wanted to sing for the "mere" joy of singing.

> People who know of my love for music today often say to me, "Don't you wish that your parents had made you take music lessons when you were little?" The answer is, No, I don't. I think that forced exposure would probably have turned me away from music, as it has so many others. But it still makes me regretful, and angry, that when I found out, almost by accident, that I loved making music and wanted more than anything to make some more, a rich university, dedicated (so they say) to the higher things of life, could have found nothing better to do than to slam the door in my face.

Through college and his World War II service in the Navy, Holt continued to be mainly a jazz fan. But he began, around 25, to nibble gingerly at the classics, particularly at Beethoven's Vio-

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lin Concerto. What drew him

to that particular music [was] that in some respects it was very like the jazz-swing music I already knew and loved. The relationship between the classical orchestra and soloist was much like it was with jazz. The orchestra stated the themes, and the soloist improvised on and around them, commenting on them.

As a tip to newcomers to classical music, he suggests, when hearing a piece for the first time, that you let the music wash over you and listen for passages, however short, which catch your ear. Soon, "the special quality of that passage begins to spread out into the rest of the music." Those who meet classical music for the first time, be they children or adults, should be able to meet it as simply "a great feast of sound, to be enjoyed for its own sake, without having to worry much about when or how it was made or what it is called or what it means. Let astonishment and delight come first; curiosity, questions, thought and understanding will come later."

Buying a guitar, and still knowing no music, Holt played the few chords he knew mostly because "the sound and vibrations were immensely soothing and relaxing." He soon went to Europe, however, and never again took it up. In London he attended a few orchestra concerts and began to learn what various other musical instruments looked and sounded like. He bought a record player there, took it back with him, and began to buy or borrow classical records. These years, in short, were characterized by Holt's learning to listen, and standing back in awe as a whole new world unfolded before him.

"I can do it too"

The "breakthrough," the realization that learning to play an instrument was within his power, and not something superhuman, came one day when, thinking about string players, he asked himself for the thousandth time, "How do they know where to put their fingers?" The he thought back to the time he "learned" to make his whistles higher or lower. While only making sounds, he tried to realize what was happening in his mouth. "I soon realized that when I whistled a high note I brought the tip of my tongue very close up behind my lips," while low notes came when his tongue was drawn back and down in his mouth. The point was that, when he wanted to produce a certain note, he didn't so much "know" where to put his tongue as he "just put it there, it goes where it's meant to go, and the note comes out." That was just how string players knew where to put their fingers! "Words can barely describe how I felt." Music would indeed be difficult for him to learn, but it would not be impossible.

So, at the age of 34, he bought a flute and began to take lessons. While he was fortunate enough to have a teacher who had him play "real music," as opposed to mere exercises, his progress was sporadic. For it was in these years, the late 1950s, that he began to think about and write down those ideas on education which had grown from his schoolteacher's job, and for which he is now famous. He still thought of music as only a pleasant diversion, and of progress as something his teacher defined and certified: "I was not yet ready to be at the center of my own learning." Not surprisingly, he soon stopped playing.

Several years passed, during which he listened more continually to both records and live symphony performances. Then one day he bought a used cello, on a fluke. Months later came the first lessons. He was 39 years old. This time he stuck to it. He had gotten over his fear of failure by six years of trying to get his school children to get over theirs. Also, his new teacher soon had him playing (like the first) the music he knew and loved. "He knew that the beauty of the music would inspire me" to work in his own way on those problems which exercise books address themselves to. Further, he encouraged Holt in the habit of picking notes at random and bowing them, "for the sheer joy of hearing the sounds coming from the instrument." Instead of being upbraided for this, Holt was told "But that's the best thing you could possibly do. After all, the whole point of what we're doing is to make a lovely sound." Holt began a two-year regimen: rise at 4:30 am, practice for two hours at a nearby school, go home and sleep more, "do other kinds of work," go back to the school to coach his soccer team, eat dinner, and return to the school for practice. (He couldn't practice at home: the cello's vibrations disturbed his neighbors.)

It began to pay off. He joined an amateur orchestra and string quartet for the vital practice of playing with other people. He even began to give cello lessons, to the son of a friend. The small orchestra was soon forced to disband, as their practice hall became unavailable, and no substitute could have been found. "The city was full of classrooms, unused in the evening which would have been fine for us, but no one would let us use them." (Another example of how the public "education" system actually stifles education.)

Then, for the second time, music dropped out of Holt's life. This time, though, he dropped it regretfully. After his first books, *How Children Fail* and *How Children Learn* came out, his fame began to spread. More and more of his time was being spent teaching, traveling and lecturing. So if during the years 1966-1973 he spent most of his time away from Boston, he spent all of it away from his cello.

But not, however, away from music. Wherever he happened to find himself he heard the local orchestra. After one of these concerts he met the cellist Janos Starker at a party. They got to talking about adults learning to play music. It was obviously hard, Starker said; "we have to develop a whole new set of muscles" and coordinations. "On the other hand, we [adults] have an advantage: *We can think up problems, and find solutions.*" These words strengthened Holt's "hunch, hope and faith that old dogs can learn new tricks," and what's more, "learn them better than young dogs — once they get over the notion that they can't learn them." These few words, along with a less perceptible development taking place at that same time, led Holt back to music, and moreover, put it at the center of his life.

This less perceptible development had nothing directly to do with music. Rather it was *political*. For several years, Holt and others interested in educational reform had taught seminars in Mexico at a conference organized by Ivan Illich. Holt began to realize that the problem with modern society went far deeper than schools. "The trouble was that people had become what Illich called institutionalized," believing that everything they wanted or needed "could ony be supplied by some large, complicated, expensive, run-from-the-top organization." This instead of relying on themselves, or cooperative enterprises. "What people used to *do* in order to meet their felt needs, now became things people try to *get*." They turn verbs into nouns, like the words

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LESLEE J. NEWMAN

To most people, learning is not an *activity,* but a *product* available only at school.

"learning" or "housing." To most people, "learning is not the *activity* of finding out about this or that, something that anyone can do, but a product obtained from and in schools." People are told that they must go to experts to get what they need, that they themselves are incompetent to even decide what they need.

All this had a direct influence on Holt's decision to take up the cello again:

> If I could learn to play the cello well, as I thought I could, I could show by my own example that we all have greater powers than we think; that whatever we want to learn or learn to do, we probably can learn; that our lives and our possibilities are not determined and fixed by what happened to us when we were little, or what experts say we can or cannot do . . . in short, my love for music now seemed more and more joined to my love of teaching and to my deepest political concerns. The gap I had felt between my work and my hobby had disappeared.

Holt returned to the cello with a dedication—indeed, a fervor—that no child could summon. Always with Starker's sentence in mind—"We can think up problems and find solutions"—Holt did just that. He invented new and easy ways to discover whether his string instruments were in tune. He came up with an easier way to learn musical intervals (e.g., a fourth is the tone distance, or interval, between do and fa—*do*-re-me-*fa*.) But this do-re-mi method was difficult to apply to the written score, and hindered score reading. Holt thought, with his head full of tunes, why not learn the intervals from the music he already knew? These came from many sources: the interval of the fourth came out of the first two notes of the old Dixieland jazz piece, "South Rampart Street Parade"; for the sixth, he took the first two notes of the old NBC signature tune. "But many intervals come from the classics. For the falling sixth I use the first two notes of the Second Chopin Piano Concerto, long one of my favorites." Others, of course, would have to use their own mental library of stored music, but this way of going about it makes the task much easier, and further, is something with which adults have a distinct advantage over children.

Learning without lessons

Many people seem taken aback when Holt, upon being asked, tells them he isn't studying with anyone. For the usual needs beginners or intermediate players turn to teachers to meet are in Holt's case met through his own resources. "One of the reasons students take lessons is so they will practice . . . (But) I like to play four hours a day, more if I can." Then, teachers can provide "the right" music to practice or play. But through years of listening to records and attending concerts, Holt knows enough music "for the lifetime . . . Time is my problem, not ignorance about what to play." Teachers also suggest ways to organize practice time. Holt found this helpful at the beginning, but now keeping variety in his practice is, for him, an interesting problem in itself. And while teachers can show what good cello playing looks and sounds like, "From records and from seeing and hearing many great cellists," he already knows well what he wants his playing to look and sound like. Finally, "I don't need weekly judgments about my progress, either to scold or reward. The metronome, the tapes I sometimes make of my own playing . . . tell me." For advanced pupils, on the other hand, the right teacher can convey the vitally important art of stressing or tapering notes to bring out "the nuances of feeling" beneath the written score. Holt says he would like nothing better than to study with such a teacher. But he isn't good enough yet.

There are, of course, problems in learning the cello; it is not easy. Holt has had to give up activities he enjoyed for years to "clear the space" for his two passions of educational writing and music making. His days are filled with battles over devoting time to just these two: "Both the writer and the musician want full time." And there are times, when playing, that he gets discouraged, feels he's making no progress. What he says about that applies to any adult taking up any new skill, and thus proving the "experts" wrong:

> What I am slowly learning to do in my work with music is revive some of the resilient spirit of the exploring and learning baby. I have to accept at each moment, as a fact of life, my present skill or lack of skill, and do the best I can, without blaming myself for not being able to do better. I have to be aware of my mistakes and shortcomings without being ashamed of them. I have to keep in view the distant goal, without worrying about how far away it is or reproaching myself for not being already there. This is very hard for most adults. It is the main reason why we old dogs so often find it so hard to learn new tricks, whether sports or languages or crafts or music. But if as we work on our skills we work on this weakness in ourselves, we can slowly get better at both.

Christopher Weber writes frequently for LR.

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5. **DR. THOMAS SZASZ**—This witty and internationally respected author, teacher and psychiatrist turns his formal topic "Mental Health Under Carter" into an analysis. **"PSYCODRAMA IN THE WHITE HOUSE."**
6. **NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN**—Syndicated columnist and popular speaker addresses a favorite topic of libertarians: **"POLITICS: WHY IT AIN'T CREAM THAT RISES TO THE TOP."**
7. **JOHN LOFTON, JR.**—An editor and syndicated columnist eloquently states the case against **"BUREAUCRACY."**
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9. **JAMES DALE DAVIDSON**—Author, scholar, journalist and leader of the National Taxpayer's Union is introduced by Murray Rothbard to speak on the **"BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT."**
11. **NATHANIEL BRANDEN**—This was **THE BEST SELLER** of the convention—**"THE COMING CHALLENGE TO LIBERTARIANS."**
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13. **"LIBERTARIAN PUBLICATIONS"** Panel—Bob Poole of **REASON MAGAZINE** and Vince Miller of the **MERCURY** give information on starting your own periodical.
14. **GORDON BROWNELL** of **NORML** puts **"MARIJUANA"** issue into historical and political perspective.
* 15. **MICHAEL EMERLING**—More on the ***"ART OF POLITICAL PERSUASION"*** from this political consultant.
* 16. Society for Individual Liberty's **TENTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET**—over three hours of reminising, speaking, laughing and live music with Nathaniel Branden, Robert Le Fevre, Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, Don Ernsberger, Dave Walton and many, many others. ($9.00)
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20. **DR. RALPH RAICO**—Senior Editor of **INQUIRY** humorously rebuts the **NATIONAL REVIEW** attacks on libertarians entitled **"CONSERVATIVES AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIAL ELEMENTS."**
21. **HON. EUGENE McCARTHY**—Former Senator and Presidential Candidate criticizes the **"TWO PARTY MONOPOLY."**
22. **"LOCAL PROBLEMS, LIBERTARIAN SOLUTIONS"**—Bill Burt moderates the panel of Dick Bjornseth and Mark Frazier for libertarian candidates for local office.
23. **ALAN BARON**—Editor and political advisor gives a pro's view of **"POLITICAL TRENDS IN AMERICA"** toward libertarianism.
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26. **DR. WALTER WILLIAMS**, author and professor of economics explains how government has caused unemployment in his talk **"GOVERNMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT."**
27. **"CURRENT FEMINIST ISSUES: SOME LIBERTARIAN PERSPECTIVES"** Panel—Christine Dorfi, Sharon Presley, Janice Allen, Lynn Kinsky.
28. **MORTON HALPERIN**—An enlightening exposé of the **"FBI AFTER HOOVER."**
29. **"GUN CONTROL"** Panel with Alan Gottlieb, Richard Gardner, Donald Kates, and Merle Jacobs provides a wealth of information on Constitutional, regulatory and legislative situations.
30. **DR. EARL RAVENAL**—Professor and expert on foreign affairs is introduced by Roy Childs to speak on **"THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY"** and defend non-interventionism.
* 31. **"FUTURISM AND THE FREE SOCIETY"** Panel—Moderated by Bob Poole with Mark Frazier, Gary Hudson, Joseph Martino, Carl Helmers and Robert Anton Wilson. This illustrious panel discusses the many likely scientific advances and libertarian awareness.
32. **ROGER MACBRIDE**—The 1976 Libertarian Presidential Candidate gives personal insights and **"THE PROSPECTS FOR THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY."**
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34. **"QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS"**—Presidential candidates Clark, Hunscher and Larson face the delegates.
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41. **MURRAY ROTHBARD**—**"THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY"** is a classic example of Murray's undying optimism.
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44. **ERNEST FITZGERALD**—Fired from the Air Force for his C-5A revelations and reinstated, he speaks on **"BUREAUCRACY"** from the point of view of an insider.
46. **DAVID FRIEDMAN**—This popular economist details many issues in **"LIBERTARIAN UNDERCURRENTS IN ECONOMICS."**
47. **DR. THOMAS G. MOORE**—LP expert on **"TRANSPORTATION DEREGULATION."**
48. ***"INFORMATION POLICY"*** Panel—Mike Anzis and M.L. Hanson discuss privacy in computer and financial transactions.
* 50. **PRESIDENTIAL BANQUET** with **ROBERT RINGER**, author of current best seller **Restoring the American Dream. ED CLARK** addresses the gathering and **ORSON BEAN**, TV personality, is master of ceremonies.
51. **ROLL CALL VOTE** for LP Presidential Nominees from the convention floor.
52. **ED CLARK**—Acceptance Speech for the Presidential Nomination.
53. **DAVID KOCH**—Acceptance speech for the Vice Presidential Nomination and presentation of Prometheus Award to F. Paul Wilson.
54. ***NOMINATING SPEECHES*** for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates from the convention floor.
55. **LIBERTARIAN WIT:** Tape **ONE**—The funniest and sharpest comments and stories extracted from speeches, panels and floor proceedings recorded at the convention.
56. **LIBERTARIAN WIT:** Tape **TWO**—Another hour of anecdotes and humor from the convention recordings.
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61. **LEONARD LIGGIO**—Editor and historian expounds on **"IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PARTIES."**
62. **"NON-GOVERNMENT EDUCATION"** Panel—John Bailey, Jim Clarkson, George Smith and John Hospers discuss the practical aspects of private education and problems with state education.
63. **STEVE CHAPMAN**—Journalist analyses the campaign of **"JOHN CONNALLY AND THE *POLITICS OF POWER.*"**
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Al Pacino as trial lawyer Arthur Kirkland in ... *And Justice for All:* "a message of despair about the situation in our prisons, judicial chambers, law offices and courtrooms."

On View

Crime and punishments

DAVID BRUDNOY

BLEEDING-HEART LIBerals and knee-jerk conservatives alike (getting the epithets out of our way at the start) inhabit, apparently, two separate but equally simple Americas, one squishy soft, the other tough and punitive. We are talking now of the theories of criminality and jurisprudence and penology; for want of a less grandiose term, the concepts of Justice. If someone has worked up a litmus test of ideological purity, it must surely contain a question or series of questions designed to ferret out the respondents' views about the causes of crime and the nature of criminality and the ideal system of punishment. Opinions about capital punishment are useful though not quite definitive indicators, as are attitudes toward toughening or "liberalizing" the conditions of prison life. As in reality, so, too, in the popular arts, notably television and the movies. The views from Hollywood Boulevard, to sum up various production centers in an inaccurate but familiar phrase, shift on these matters roughly as, though usually just slightly later than, the views on them from Main Street do. On the tube we pass through our season of "Mortimer Gentle, Public Defender," into our season of "Firmshoes, D.A." And back again. In the movies we float between *Dirty Harry* and *Dog Day Afternoon,* and variants thereof.

Recently, however, two films came before the public offering somewhat more ambiguous pictures of Justice, movies notable not only as cinema but as pop philosophy. Both ... *And Justice for All* and *The Onion Field* depict the sorry state of our systems of criminal justice, but neither quite fits the stereotypes so comforting to ideologues of either major persuasion. Each presents a rich diet for reflection, each is marred by ambition bolder than realization, and each deserves more than the passing glance sufficient for the bulk of today's cinema fare.

Norman Jewison's ... *And Justice For All* is a cornucopia of vignettes of the American legal profession in our time, centering on the activities of a slightly rumpled, splendidly idealistic young attorney named Arthur Kirkland (Al Pacino), the name itself redolent of high aspirations (the Round Table's master) and virtue (the Church, the kirk) and America (this land is your land, this land is etcetera). I wouldn't push the name game too far, lest this smack of graduate school pomposity, but the reader can play around with the monickers to some advantage. Kirkland defends, among others, a black drag queen, Ralph Agee (Robert Christian), and a white, somewhat wilted flower-child, Jeff McCullaugh (Thomas Waites), and in time he is maneuvered into defending a hard-assed, insufferably cold judge named Fleming (John Forsythe). Kirkland is also the somewhat reluctant buddy of a self-destructive, iconoclastic jurist named Rayford (Jack Warden), a fellow given to eating his lunch from a paper bag while sitting on the ledge outside his chambers, high above the streets of Baltimore, and given also to dragging his friends off for early morning helicopter rides, the fun of which excursions derives from taking the 'copter just a little bit beyond the halfway point of the fuel supply and then heading back to the airport and seeing if he can land before crashing. Judge Rayford's theory of life is that it "sucks."

So does the judicial system, Jewison-style. Kirkland's law partner, Jay Porter (Jeffrey Tambor), gets his client, a killer, acquitted, and turns up at Kirkland's flat teetering on the edge of hysteria, revealing that the freed killer went from his trial directly out into the night to kill two kids. Porter next appears at a Thanksgiving dinner party, shriving in a manner more familiar to an earlier age than to ours: he has shaved his head. Porter soon falls apart and takes to tossing plates and cups at passersby in the courthouse corridors. This, obviously, is not the sort of movie that makes its points subtly.

Judicial rulings are "meshugenah," in the words of one aggrieved plaintiff. The Negro chap with the penchant for dresses and blond wigs is promised an easy release by his attorney, Kirkland, but when our hero accompanies his plate-tossing law partner to the hospital in a straitjacket, he leaves

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the Black's defense in the hands of a colleague who screws up royally; the terrified and now sentenced transvestite next wards off his fate behind bars by hanging himself in his cell. Legalman (I borrow Robert Ringer's phrase) is hardly infallible; nor, for that matter, is he terribly interested in his clients. By Legalman I mean, of course, the concept of Lawyer in this film, not the boy wonder, Kirkland, who is swell. Jeff McCullaugh, the young fellow whom Judge Fleming keeps from liberty owing to a piddling technicality, is also a victim of this system that can't manage to separate the innocent wheat from the criminaloid chaff. McCullaugh goes berserk, barricades himself in a prison office with two guards as hostages. During the frenzied visit by his attorney, Kirkland, McCullaugh's head moves momentarily into the rifle sights of guards stationed across the courtyard. Another dead client. Kirkland has quite a time of it losing his clients, in between neat little beddie-bye scenes with his lady friend, Gail Packer (Christine Lahti), an attorney upon whom Kirkland lavishes both his interpretation of affection and his never-ending sermonettes on truth, beauty, and the (hoped-for) American way of justice.

But to the central feature of this melodrama: the strange case of Judge Fleming, whose character we are shown, and whom we are thereby instructed to dislike instantly, by the prominent, if seemingly casual, display of an Ike button and a gilded GOP elephant atop his desk. (The film is stuffed to *here* with cute visual teases like that; the symbology becomes a tad overbearing after about twenty minutes of it.) Fleming, the sanctimonious upholder of the Law, has been arrested for raping a woman and beating her brutally. He is not the most popular man on the bench, and getting him good is the first order of business for everybody, including the prosecutor, who shows far less interest in questions of guilt or innocence than he does in trotting out his football imagery, evidently a handy way for us to see that the man is as vile as Judge Fleming. Since Judge Fleming and attorney Kirkland cordially dislike each other, the judge insists that Kirkland serve as his attorney, overcoming Kirkland's reluctance by threatening him with disbarment, this owing to a minor infraction of something or other in the lawyers' code of ethics: Kirkland long ago betrayed a client's confidence, revealing to the cops that his client was a psychotic sadist.

The lawyer impressed into service to a judge he despises comes to believe in his loathsome client's innocence when the judge passes a polygraph test and when an eyewitness turns up to verify the presence at the scene of the crime of a different man, thus, presumably, absolving Kirkland of the crime. But Fleming, we soon learn, is into kinky sex (another of Kirkland's clients provides him with photographs of the judge in undies and chains, a female victim cringing at his feet beneath his whip, and of the head of the Ethics Committee, to which Kirkland's attorney girl friend belongs, the third participant in the merry orgy). Queried by his enraged lawyer about all this, Judge Fleming calmly acknowledges that he is guilty, that he has had the lie detector test fixed and the eyewitness account falsified, and that he fully expects his attorney to get him off. Flash now to the trial, and fill in the blanks.

An outline tends, I admit, to strip ... *And Justice For All* of its richness. It is a rapid sweep across the whole terrain of contemporary America's judicial chessboard: the evil judge, the crazy judge, the greedy lawyers and the guilt-ridden lawyer and the decent lawyer, the pathetic black victims and the pathetic white victims of a Law that bears little resemblance to Justice, the compromisers and the idealists—the works. It succumbs to an evidently irresistible urge by its makers to bang our heads against the actualities of a hopelessly inadequate legal system, overdoing by half the instances that would make its point sufficiently. And yet it presents a half-dozen performances that achieve something closely approximating excellence, and leaves us at the end with a double-whammy: the climax at the Judge Fleming trial toys with us, thrills us, and leaves any of us who bother to contemplate what comes after The End with the realization that nothing, absolutely nothing, is changed or will change or can change. It is a message of despair, Quixote tilting against the windmills of a rigidity utterly impervious to truth. Have you heard of a mistrial? ... *And Justice For All* drains the viewer of any lingering sentimentality about the situations in our prisons, in our judicial chambers, in our law offices, in our courtrooms, while not depriving us of some faint belief in the fundamental decency of some few practitioners of the profession called The Law. It is both an absurdist fantasy about crime and the punishments for various crimes, *and* a shrill, superficially nutty shriek for reform. How will our straw-man twins, Mr. Liberal and Mr. Conservative, like it?

About as much as they'll like *The Onion Field,* the latest in Joseph Wambaugh's books translated to the screen. Formerly a policeman, then author of *The New Centurions* and *The Choirboys,* both of which came to sickly life on the screen in atrocious versions of the novels on which they were based, Wambaugh decided this time to write his own screenplay and participate actively in the movie's production. *The Onion Field* is the true story of two cops and two hoodlums, whose lives converge one night. The cops (Ted Danson and John Savage) stop the thieves (James Woods and Franklyn Seales) in a chance encounter, are apprehended by the bad guys and taken out into the country, where the loony crook (Woods) kills one of the cops (Danson) and almost captures and kills the other (Savage). The killers are at length apprehended, tried, sentenced to death, and rescued from that fate by ole debbil technicality. In short, the appeals system prolongs the case for seven years. Meanwhile, the surviving cop, consumed by guilt—he comes to believe that he was responsible for his partner's death — becomes a petty criminal himself, is busted from the force, nearly kills his baby, or himself—the scene leads us to expect either slaughter, or both — and only slowly is patched back together with the help of his wife and others.

It is a movie as unlikely to please anybody who prefers his stories neat as is ... *And Justice For All.* Except for the police officer who is killed, and who is portrayed as a nice, dour fellow who relaxes by playing sorrowful dirges on the bagpipes of his ancestral people, and whose early elimination from the movie denies us a protracted examination of his essence, the lead characters are fully rounded, neither perfectly awful nor perfectly fine. Savage (*Hair; The Deer Hunter*) infuses his role, that of officer Karl Hettinger, with power and complexity and vulnerability. He is, of course, clean-cut, but he is not a saint at the start tormented by forces outside

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John Savage as police officer Karl Hettinger in *The Onion Field:* "a horrifying question mark about The Law and injustice."

himself. In fact he *did* stupidly allow the criminals to capture him and his partner, violating everything he had learned in the police academy; in fact he did will his own dismissal from the force and allow his own doubts to bring him to the thin ledge jutting out over catastrophe. But Savage's Hettinger is a man for whom the viewer feels a mixture of compassion and disdain: he is a cop whose will to do the right thing is less firm than his muddle-headed tendency to goof.

And the two criminals are, if anything, even less easily pigeon-holed. The Black, Jimmy (Seales), is a two-bit thief who succumbs to his white partner's wife, later succumbs in every way to his white partner; and the latter, Powell (Woods), demonstrates not only a madman's sense of the aptness of viciousness but also the brilliant man's ability to use the law against justice. He is, moreover, something of a part-time bisexual, to whom Jimmy bows down, in prison, as disciple and as fellator. As the years pass, as Hettinger disintegrates, the two convicted men mature, mellow, master the processes of endless delay, until at last the black man is something of a prison yard philosopher and the white man has become a laid-back instructor, tutoring other convicts in the details of a legal system seemingly tailor-made for the perpetuation of injustice and the ironic transformation of the roles of criminal and victim.

The Onion Field can be seen as a ringing cry of anguish against the prison system, or as a stirring indictment of the crazy mass of contradictions and stupidities of the rules of law, or—and I would opt for this—as a horrifying question mark: at the end we still do not know whether Jimmy participated in the shooting, whether Hettinger could have saved his partner, whether Powell has transcended his awful past and been "rehabilitated," thus serving as Exhibit A in the case against capital punishment, or whether he has simply learned better than most to practice the good citizenship of slipping through loopholes. The film abounds in telling bits of action and snatches of conversation that Wambaugh, the former policeman, must know to be true. As Jimmy and Powell are led into death row, one voice — a guard? a prisoner? — calls out: "Dead men coming through." As we spend some time in their row of cells with our convicts and their neighbors, we watch one Black take off all his clothes and slash his wrists, and another couple holding hands, and still others cowering in terror, and more men pulled inside their own skulls, doing their time by blotting out time itself. We watch a paunchy and vulgar defense attorney pulling every little trick imaginable out of his hatful of them, ignoring a judge trying to stifle him, throwing the full panoply of obfuscatory motions into a hearing that seems itself to be but one piece in a huge mosaic of obfuscation. The film is overly generous in ladling out its enigmas and unnecessarily gentle in tying up a few of its lesser loose ends. But it leaves the central paradox unresolved. The Law, *this* charlatan's bag of statutes, is all we've got, but The Law embodies injustice, and so where to now? You might be interested in knowing that the real-life models for this story served a long stretch in San Quentin before they earned their parole. Meanwhile, the death penalty was invalidated by the Supreme Court, only, very recently, to return to active service in a few states. Sirhan Sirhan, by the way, comes up for parole shortly, and Dan White will be out feeding the pigeons in Union Square by 1984. ❑

LR's film critic is Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex County (Massachusetts), critic-at-large for WNAC-TV (CBS) in Boston, and host of "The David Brudnoy Show" on WHDH-AM, also in Boston.

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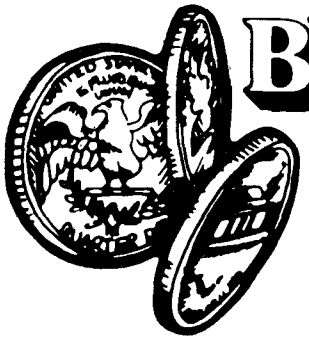

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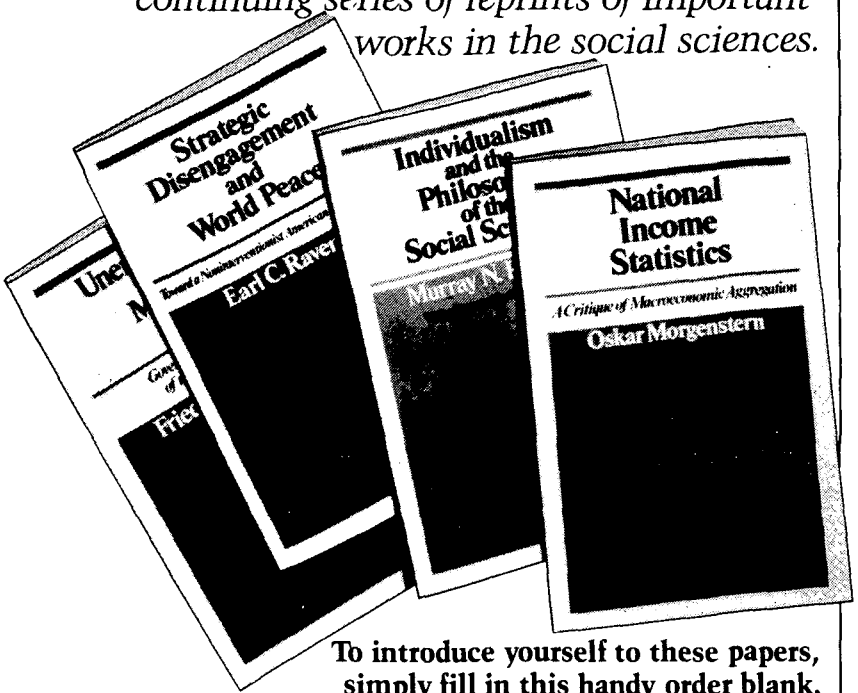
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